



S. H. Taqizadeh

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Studies in honour of
S. H. TAQIZADEH

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PREFACE

These pages are dedicated to S. H. Taqizadeh by scholars of many countries in token of their appreciation of his great services to learning. The history of classical Persian literature and the chronology of Iran and the countries surrounding her have been the chief beneficiaries of his scholarship, which is distinguished by intuition, knowledge, and precision. The weight of his scholarly work hardly lets one suspect that it is the fruit of mere hours of leisure; and that throughout his life matters of state and government have been his pre-occupation.

Few scholars of his eminence can compare with S. H. Taqizadeh in their claims upon the gratitude of their fellows. No one who asked for his counsel and help in a matter of scholarship ever left his door unaided. There are many who went to his country in the pursuit of learning and were enabled by his generous assistance alone to conduct their researches. Numerous learned enterprises owe their foundation to his energy and devotion; the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* is one of them.

Some time has elapsed since S. H. Taqizadeh observed his eightieth birthday; he was born on 29 Ramaḍān 1295 = 27 September 1878. It is a pity that the best date for presenting a *Festschrift* to him has thus been allowed to pass unused; yet we would rather make amends for that omission now, than wait for his ninetieth birthday. The contributors to this volume, and numerous other scholars besides, fervently hope that he will celebrate that anniversary, and many thereafter, in good health and enjoy for long the universal admiration of the learned that is his due.

The Editors

W. B. HENNING

E. YARSHATER

يک دهن خواهم به پهنای فلک
تا بگویم مدحت ، ای رشک ملک
(مولوی)

“Il me faut une bouche, large comme le ciel,
pour chanter ta louange, ô toi, objet d’envie
de l’Angel!”
(*Maulavi*)

TAQIZADEH, TEL QUE JE L’AI CONNU

Par S. MOHAMMAD ALI DJAMALZADEH

Je considère comme un devoir sacré, cher à mon cœur et à mon esprit, de rendre ici pieusement hommage à mon grand et vénéré maître et ami, Seyyed Hassan Taqizadeh, à cette occasion. Depuis quarante-cinq ans que j’ai l’honneur insigne et l’inappréciable privilège de compter parmi ses dévoués et fidèles amis, l’estime profonde et l’admiration sincère que je professe pour sa haute personnalité n’ont fait que s’accroître.

Mise à part la grandiose figure de notre grand Roi, Réza Chah Pahlavi, qui est incontestablement hors de pair et ne rentre point dans le cadre des comparaisons présentes, Taqizadeh, à côté du prince Kadjar Abbas Mirza, ainsi que de Mirza Taghi Khan Amir-Kabir, Seyyed Djamal-ed-dine dit Afghani et Seyyed Abdullah Behbahani, sans aucun doute, est une des figures les plus marquantes et des personnalités les plus dignes d’intérêt et d’admiration, dans l’histoire de la Perse, pendant les dernières décades du 19^{me} siècle et la première moitié du 20^{me}.¹

Il serait vain de tenter, dans le cadre restreint qui nous est réservé ici, de parler, ne fût-ce que simplement énumérer, les faits saillants de cette longue vie exceptionnellement riche en événements, pour la plupart historiques et intimement liés à l’histoire même de la Perse en général, et à sa révolution, d’une façon toute spéciale, vie consacrée entièrement, dès la toute première jeunesse, au service exclusif de la connaissance (sciences, lettres, histoire, etc.) aussi bien que de la liberté et de la patrie. Ceux qui désireraient faire plus ample connaissance avec ce grand personnage que beaucoup de ses

¹Le grand savant Mirza Mohammad Qazvini, ainsi que l’orateur constitutionnaliste Seyyed Djamal-ed-dine, dit Isphahani, méritent assurément aussi, chacun dans son propre domaine, d’avoir leur place dans l’histoire moderne de leur pays.

compatriotes, et même des étrangers, considèrent déjà, de son vivant, comme l'Abou Reyhâné Birouni de notre époque, feraient bien de consulter les nombreuses biographies consacrées à sa vie et à son œuvre.¹

En ce qui me concerne, je dis d'emblée que Taqizadeh a été la suprême découverte morale, intellectuelle et humaine de ma vie.² J'ai acquis la certitude que c'est enrichir infiniment sa vie que d'apprendre à connaître de plus près des êtres d'une essence supérieure. Si, personnellement, je n'ai pas réussi à en profiter dans une plus grande mesure, la faute n'en incombe qu'à moi seul.

Les manifestations de la personnalité de Taqizadeh sont d'ordre multiple et varié. Ses facultés exceptionnelles et ses rares talents se sont exercés, avec le même bonheur, dans de nombreux domaines. Patriote et révolutionnaire, avant tout, ayant toujours et de toutes ses forces lutté pour l'indépendance, la liberté et le bonheur de son pays et de ses compatriotes, Taqizadeh est, en même temps, un grand homme d'Etat, diplomate avisé, versé dans les sciences islamiques, historien de renom mondial, écrivain éminent, penseur de haute valeur, et également journaliste de très grand talent. Et c'est précisément sur le terrain du journalisme que débutèrent les rapports de celui qui écrit ces lignes avec lui. Ces relations ne cessèrent de se développer au cours des années, devenant constamment plus cordiales de sa part et, de plus en plus empreintes d'un dévouement pieux et d'une vénération filiale de mon côté.

Quarante-cinq années de relations suivies et non interrompues n'ont fait que confirmer et justifier chaque jour davantage, en moi, la conviction que mon maître et ami, Seyyed Hassan Taqizadeh, est l'illustration vivante d'un grand nombre de vertus humaines. Avec l'âge les branches de nos intérêts spirituels se sont, de plus en plus, entremêlées, comme de vieux arbres fidèles. J'ai eu maintes occasions de le connaître sous plusieurs de ses aspects: tous ont été dignes

¹ Il y a lieu de mentionner tout spécialement "l'Histoire de la vie de Taqizadeh" par Mehdi Modjtahédi (Téhéran, 1322 h.s.) et l'article remarquable du Professeur Rêzazadeh Chafagh, intitulé "Taqizadeh et la Constitution", publié dans la revue "Yaghma" paraissant à Téhéran (12^{me} année, n° 139, Bahman 1338 h.s.), ainsi que "l'Histoire de la révolution persane" (en anglais et en traduction persane) du Professeur Ed. Browne.

² Je dois en dire autant de Mirza Mohammad Khan Qazvini. Le souvenir pieux de ces deux personnes est si intimement lié en mon souvenir que rendre hommage à l'une d'elles est, en même temps, rendre hommage à l'autre.

d'estime et d'admiration. Mais ici, dans les lignes qui suivent, je me bornerai à m'occuper de Taqizadeh journaliste.

Dans le discours prononcé à Téhéran, le 16 septembre 1959, à la fête préparée par le quotidien "Ettelaât" à l'occasion de son dix millième numéro, Taqizadeh a dit lui-même: "Parmi ceux de nos compatriotes, ayant affaire avec la plume, je crois être le plus âgé de tous, et je dois ajouter que je ne suis pas étranger non plus au journalisme. Il y a, en effet, plus de soixante ans que j'ai un pied posé sur le terrain politique et l'autre (dans les limites de mes faibles possibilités) dans des activités littéraires et scientifiques. Il y a aujourd'hui cinquante ans (années lunaires) qu'en collaboration avec quelques amis, nous fondions, à Tauris, une revue persane,¹ de caractère littéraire et scientifique qui, à partir de l'année 1320 h.l., parut pendant toute une année régulièrement et qui trouva un assez grand nombre de lecteurs."

TAQIZADEH et le "KAVEH"

Le journal "Kâveh", d'après le nom du héros national légendaire de l'Iran antique, fut fondé à Berlin, en janvier 1916. Le premier numéro (24 janvier 1916) commence avec ces vers de Ferdauci:

کسی کو هوای فریدون کند
سر از بند ضحاک بیرون کند

"Celui qui porte en son cœur Freydoun doit se libérer des chaînes de Zakhâk."

Les fondateurs de "Kâveh" étaient Taqizadeh et Qazvini. Lorsque, ayant terminé ma mission en Iran, après une absence de seize mois, je retournai à Berlin, le premier numéro de "Kâveh" avait déjà paru.

Dans l'éditorial du premier numéro, de la plume de Taqizadeh, nous lisons: "La conduite pleine de bassesse de nos hommes d'Etat, faite de faiblesse, de trahison, de peur et de vilenie, leur interdit toute activité . . . et c'est pourquoi nous considérons comme notre devoir de ne point demeurer inactifs et, ne fût-ce que de loin, de faire entendre notre voix et de jeter des cris, dans l'espoir de réveiller nos compatriotes, de les stimuler dans leurs efforts patriotiques et de les

¹ C'est aussi dans cette même revue, ayant pour titre "Gandjinéy Fonoun"—Trésor des Arts et Connaissances—que parut le roman "Safinéy ghaw-wasseh", traduction faite par Taqizadeh d'après Jules Verne du roman "Vingt milles lieux sous les mers".

conjurer de participer activement à la grande et sacrée lutte nationale."

L'éditorial du premier numéro de la troisième année (n° 25, 15 février 1918) est conçu en ces termes: "Ce journal a suivi, dans la mesure du possible, la voie dans laquelle il avait choisi de s'engager. Dans son essence, il a lutté pour la liberté et l'indépendance de l'Iran. Même dans l'adoption du style choisi pour la rédaction des articles, nous avons cherché à servir notre langue, et ceci, à l'heure même où la langue persane traverse une sérieuse crise, et où, à notre très vif regret, on pourrait croire que tous nos soi-disant hommes de lettres de Téhéran se sont entendus pour corrompre délibérément notre chère langue. En employant dans leurs écrits une multitude de termes, d'expressions et de tournures étrangers, empruntés au turc et aux langues européennes, n'ont-ils pas créé une langue artificielle, incompréhensible? Cette façon d'agir ne signifie-t-elle pas la corruption du bon goût et la décadence manifeste de notre littérature?" On voit ainsi que, durant toute son existence "Kâveh" n'a cessé de servir, avant tout, la langue et la littérature persanes, objets de sa constante sollicitude et qu'il les a considérées comme la garantie de l'indépendance nationale de la Perse.

Le journal "Kâveh", qui a paru régulièrement chaque mois, à Berlin, pendant une longue période de cinq années, comprend deux séries distinctes. La première, composée de 35 numéros, s'étend sur la période allant du 24 janvier 1916 au 15 août 1919. Bien que le caractère prédominant du "Kâveh", durant cette période, soit nettement politique, pourtant, ainsi que le prouve la liste des principaux articles et études y parus et annexés à la fin du présent article, nombreux sont les articles qui, même dans cette première série, sont d'ordre purement historique ou littéraire. Nous ne citons ici, à titre d'exemple, que la très intéressante série d'articles au sujet du "Régime parlementaire en Perse", étude richement documentée, qui donne également la liste complète des députés des trois premières législatures ainsi que celle des ministères nombreux qui se sont succédés au cours de cette longue période.¹

La nouvelle série de "Kâveh" commença avec la fin de la première guerre mondiale. Le premier numéro de cette série est daté

¹ Ces articles parurent plus tard, parmi les publications de "Kâveh", sous forme de brochure.

du 22 janvier 1920. Dans l'éditorial de ce numéro, toujours de la plume de Taqizadeh, nous lisons: "Le nouveau 'Kâveh' change de programme et devient, de fait, un tout nouveau journal. Les articles et les études qu'il publiera désormais traiteront principalement des sujets scientifiques, littéraires ou historiques. Le point essentiel de son programme visera, avant tout, à la diffusion et à la propagation de la civilisation européenne en Perse, à la lutte contre le fanatisme, à la défense de la nationalité et à l'unité de cette nationalité, à la défense de notre langue et de notre littérature, et enfin, à promouvoir, dans la mesure du possible, la liberté intérieure et extérieure de l'Iran."

S'expliquant au sujet de celui des points de ce programme ayant trait à l'adoption de la civilisation européenne et à l'importance que revêt ce point particulier, Taqizadeh ajoute: "Tout patriote persan doit, à mon avis, consacrer toutes ses forces à la réalisation d'un programme comprenant les trois points ci-dessous dont on ne saurait jamais exagérer l'importance primordiale et urgente:

- 1° adoption et propagation de la civilisation européenne, sans aucune réserve ou condition;¹
- 2° adoption des us et coutumes, de la façon de vivre, des méthodes, des sciences, des arts, et, en un mot, de la vie et de tout ce qui fait la civilisation européenne, sans en rien exclure ou excepter (sauf en ce qui a rapport à la langue);
- 3° répudiation de toute vaine présomption, de tout faux amour-propre et de tout dénigrement découlant d'une conception erronée du patriotisme, ou plutôt du faux-patriotisme."

Il est bien naturel que dans une société comme la société persane, où le cours millénaire du temps a transmuté les traditions les plus louables en des coquilles respectables, figées et souvent vénéneuses, toute attitude sentant le non-conformisme, dictée par une pensée libre, hardiment exprimée, ne peut manquer de susciter l'opposition

¹ Au cours d'une conférence, sur "l'adoption de la civilisation étrangère" faite récemment à Téhéran par Taqizadeh, ce dernier, signalant certains excès, qui, dans ce domaine, se sont produits en Turquie, a déclaré: "Je dois avouer que l'opinion catégorique et révolutionnaire que j'ai émise, sur le même sujet, il y a une quarantaine d'années, dans le *Kâveh* et dans des articles subséquents, comportait également quelques excès; d'autant plus que l'expérience a montré que des changements introduits dans les traditions nationales provoquent parfois, par voie de répercussion, des conséquences fâcheuses" (voir le journal "Ettelaât havâîr" du 10 décembre 1960).

et même la malveillance d'une opinion publique ignorante et fanatique. Les articles de Taqizadeh n'échappèrent pas à cette règle. Ici et là, des voix s'élevèrent contre lui et répondirent à sa thèse par l'absurde. Mais nous savons que notre ami est, et il l'a toujours été, un roc contre lequel les vagues de la malveillance et de l'ignorantisme finissent toujours par se briser. Il n'est pas homme à se décourager ni à se laisser intimider. Cet homme, d'une apparence si timide, est, lorsque son idéal est en cause, capable des prodiges de hardiesse intrépide. Son article éditorial, paru dans le "Kâveh" (n° 7 de la nouvelle série, 17 juillet 1920), traduit son attitude à l'égard de ses contradicteurs. Il pousse l'intrépidité intellectuelle à l'extrême. Ne dit-il pas (dans le même numéro 7), en répondant à ces contradicteurs gonflés de présomption nationaliste: "La Perse n'a pas participé dans une grande mesure à la science et au progrès de l'humanité; elle est, comme toutes les autres nations du monde, redevable à la civilisation et aux sciences grecques."

Un peu plus tard, jugeant sage de calmer les esprits surexcités, il n'hésita pas dans sa sagesse imperturbable, à donner encore quelques nouvelles explications, au sujet de son programme. En effet, dans la préface à son livre: "Préambule à l'instruction publique ou des principes fondamentaux de la civilisation",¹ nous lisons: "Pour dissiper tout malentendu, nous devons dire aussi nettement que possible que notre opinion concernant la nécessité de l'adoption de la civilisation européenne n'a point changé depuis et demeure encore absolument valable, telle qu'elle a été formulée, il y a quelques années, dans le journal 'Kâveh', en des termes clairs, sans nulle équivoque et même avec une certaine rudesse et, aujourd'hui encore, je n'hésite point à la répéter de nouveau, et à déclarer que les Persans doivent, sans la moindre réserve, appréhension ou hésitation, et d'une façon tout-à-fait inconditionnée adopter la civilisation occidentale, tant physiquement que spirituellement, aussi bien dans son fond que dans sa forme, matériellement, moralement et intellectuellement. Cependant, j'ajoute que cela ne doit pas nous empêcher de conserver une partie de nos traditions qui ne risquent pas de porter atteinte à notre vie, nous nuire, ou même qui ne nous nuisent que modérément, pourvu qu'elles fassent réellement partie de notre patrimoine national; d'autant plus que ces deux choses ne s'excluent nullement et ne

¹ Paru en persan, en 1307 h.s.

contredisent point le principe selon lequel, lorsqu'il s'agit d'adopter une civilisation, l'attention doit se porter vers tout ce qui est spirituel, bien plus que vers ce qui est matériel et physique."

Il est intéressant de noter que Taqizadeh, déjà dans sa toute première jeunesse et dans le premier ouvrage qu'il a publié, ouvrage en persan intitulé "Etude sur la situation présente de la Perse ou le procès de l'histoire",¹ le jeune Taqizadeh s'efforce de prouver que si la Perse cherche à éviter la décadence, elle doit adopter la civilisation européenne, et il conclut ainsi: "Toute nation qui se refuse à accepter la civilisation de son époque est condamnée à la décadence; elle disparaîtra et sera absorbée par les nations civilisées". Admettons que la suite dans les idées est une des qualités maîtresses de Taqizadeh.

Dès que "Kâveh" entra dans la seconde période de son existence, c'est-à-dire à partir du mois de janvier 1920, il devait se suffire à lui-même, sans recevoir aucune contribution financière ou subside du dehors.

Au cours de cette période qui prit fin le 30 mars 1922, vingt-quatre numéros parurent et furent distribués régulièrement, le premier de chaque mois persan (hégire lunaire). Les améliorations appréciables, de fond et de forme, que Taqizadeh avait à cœur d'apporter constamment à son bien-aimé "Kâveh" comportaient des sacrifices et privations multiples qui finirent par altérer sérieusement sa santé aussi bien que celle de ses collaborateurs. Le nombre de ces derniers avait été, entre temps, réduit au minimum possible. Qazvini était retourné à Paris, et presque tous les autres étaient partis également. Leibnizstr. 64 (Berlin-Charlottenbourg) où "Kâveh" avait ses bureaux et sa rédaction et qui servait, en même temps, de logement à Taqizadeh et de dépôt à nos publications, recevait de moins en moins de visites. Je vois, et je verrai jusqu'à la fin de ma vie, Taqizadeh amaigri, affaibli par la maladie et la fatigue, assis là, derrière son grand bureau, en face de moi, la plume à la main et écrivant et écrivant à n'en point finir.

Nous devions tout faire nous-mêmes. Ecrire les articles, corriger jusqu'à six et sept fois les épreuves de l'imprimerie, tenir les livres, effectuer les travaux de correspondance avec nos abonnés et nos représentants, et beaucoup d'autres menus travaux que comporte la direction d'un journal, dans un pays étranger. Mais le jour où le

¹ Paru au Caire, lors du premier voyage de Taqizadeh, en Egypte.

journal sortait enfin de l'imprimerie, avec sa jolie couverture dont la couleur changeait à chaque numéro, toute notre fatigue se volatilisait, nos peines étaient oubliées. C'était la grande fête! C'était comme si notre enfant bien-aimé rentrait au logis après une longue absence.

Alors, commençaient d'autres travaux. Il fallait emballer, coller les adresses et les écrire, mettre les timbres et, les bras chargés, porter les paquets à la poste pour l'expédition. Une photographie prise à cette époque et qui est en ma possession, montre un Taqizadeh à peine reconnaissable, tellement il y est amaigri et presque décharné.

Chaque numéro, à quelques rares exceptions près, commençait avec un éditorial de la plume de Taqizadeh lui-même. Ces articles, au nombre de 22, et portant toujours ou presque toujours le même titre: "Remarques et Observations"—en persan "Nokât wa molâ-hézât"—traient d'un ou de plusieurs problèmes de caractère social ou culturel, ayant directement trait aux conditions et modalités du bonheur et du relèvement physique et moral de nos compatriotes. Ils sont, sans aucun conteste, de véritables chefs-d'œuvres, tant du point de vue du style que de la pensée et de la présentation. Souhaitons qu'ils soient réunis et publiés sous forme de volume, pour le grand profit de nos compatriotes et des innombrables admirateurs que compte Taqizadeh, un peu partout à travers le monde.¹

Une autre série d'articles de plus grande importance encore, parus dans "Kâveh", de la plume de Taqizadeh, sont ceux ayant pour titre général "Les plus célèbres poètes de la Perse". Ces articles, au nombre de huit, signés "Mohassel", commencent dans le n° 1 de la première année (22 janvier 1920) et prennent fin dans le n° 12 de la deuxième année (1^{er} décembre 1921). Ils sont le fruit de très longues recherches exhaustives, aussi minutieuses que subtiles et souvent vraiment ingénieuses et qui, les travaux de Qazvini exceptés, sont, à notre sens, en ce qui concerne la technique de la critique littéraire selon les règles et les méthodes les plus modernes, sans précédents dans la littérature persane. Je suis, je crois, le seul au monde, à savoir ce que la préparation de ces quelques articles a coûté de peine et de travail, et de nuits sans sommeil, à Taqizadeh! Ce fut aussi à l'occasion de ce travail de longue haleine, et plus tard encore à maintes autres

¹ La librairie "Téhéran" avait entrepris la publication des articles de Taqizadeh, parus dans les revues et journaux, dès le début de la constitution, mais malheureusement, après la parution du premier volume, la suite n'a pu être publiée.

occasions, que j'ai pu comprendre que Taqizadeh réglait la conduite de sa vie selon la maxime de notre premier Imam, Ali: "Pour tout ce qui a rapport à la vie de ton âme, agis comme si tu étais sur le point de mourir; et pour tout ce qui concerne les affaires de ce monde, comme si tu devais vivre éternellement."

La véracité, la probité intellectuelles (ainsi que la véracité tout court), le courage moral, la perspicacité, la ténacité, la persévérance ainsi que la "Gründlichkeit", qui font le fond essentiel du caractère de Taqizadeh, se reflètent, dans tout leur éclat, dans ces articles.

Taqizadeh a un véritable culte pour la véracité. Dans une conférence qu'il a faite, ces derniers temps à Téhéran,¹ n'a-t-il pas dit lui-même: "Je peux prétendre que mon amour pour la vérité et la répugnance que j'éprouve à faire intervenir les passions, les préjugés, les idées préconçues ou les intérêts personnels dans mon travail, sont poussés aussi loin que possible, jusqu'à la limite de ce qui est humainement réalisable et imaginable."

L'un des numéros les plus importants de "Kâveh" est sans doute le premier numéro de la deuxième année (nouvelle série), daté du 11 janvier 1921. Dans ce numéro, Taqizadeh énonce encore une fois, sous une forme lapidaire et solennelle, la formule de son plan, visant le relèvement national. Pour accentuer encore davantage la fermeté de sa conviction et pour la mettre encore plus en relief, il emploie exceptionnellement, pour formuler son plan, l'écriture "Taaliq". Voici le texte de cette formule, en traduction française:

"La Perse doit s'eupéaniser intérieurement et extérieurement, matériellement et spirituellement!"

C'est encore dans ce même numéro que Taqizadeh énumère les 17 points dont il fait dépendre le bien-être et le salut de son pays. Selon l'ordre d'importance, ils sont:

1. Instruction publique;
2. Publication des livres utiles et traductions des livres occidentaux;
3. Adoption sans réserve des us et coutumes de la civilisation européenne;
4. Sport, selon les méthodes européennes;

¹ Trois conférences faites au "Club Mehrégân" à Téhéran, au sujet de l'"Histoire des débuts de la révolution en Perse", en date des 29 Dey, 6 et 13 Bahman 1337 h.s. et parues, sous forme de livre portant le titre "Khatâbeh", dans la série des publications du Club Mehrégân, en 1338 h.s.

5. Unité nationale;
6. Défense de la langue persane contre toute corruption possible;
7. Lutte sans merci contre l'opium et l'alcool;
8. Lutte contre tout fanatisme insensé et reconnaissance de l'égalité absolue des minorités;
9. Lutte contre les maladies endémiques;
10. Indépendance politique du pays;
11. Relèvement du pays, selon la conception européenne et notamment son équipement industriel (machinisme);
12. Emancipation de la femme, comportant l'instruction et les droits civils;
13. Lutte la plus énergique contre le mensonge;
14. Lutte contre les jeux nocifs et éhontés des politiciens improvisés, dans la vie intérieure du pays;
15. Lutte contre les déviations sexuelles;
16. Lutte contre l'exagération et l'excès dans la plaisanterie et le vain bavardage;
17. Résurrection de nos bonnes vieilles traditions.

A ces dix-sept points, Taqizadeh, toujours dans le même numéro, ajoute cinq autres points, d'importance secondaire, relevant de la politique intérieure:

1. Sédentarisation des nomades et leur désarmement;
2. Lutte contre le banditisme;
3. Adoption du régime démocratique (Liberté et égalité);
4. Relèvement de la population agricole (instruction, machinisme, banque, coopération agricoles, etc.);
5. Répression pénale des crimes et délits, notamment en ce qui concerne les fonctionnaires d'Etat.

Ainsi donc, "Kâveh" fut, pour la Perse, non seulement une école du journalisme, mais encore un facteur des plus efficaces dans la renaissance littéraire et culturelle du pays, et aussi un message conviant, dans la plus pure intention patriotique, les Persans à la civilisation et au bonheur.

Cependant, peu à peu, nos ressources s'épuisèrent à tel point que nous nous vîmes forcés, comme on dit chez nous, en Perse, de recourir au "Kachkoul",¹ c'est-à-dire de demander à nos compatriotes

¹ Récipient, généralement en écorce de noix de coco, dont se servent les derviches mendiants pour y mettre les recettes de leur mendicité.

de nous venir en aide. La demande a été exposée, toujours de la plume de Taqizadeh, dans le numéro 7 (nouvelle série) du 17 juillet 1920. Voici en quels termes cette demande a été formulée:

"Nous, les rédacteurs de 'Kâveh', qui consacrons tout notre temps à la propagation de la connaissance et de la vérité (selon notre propre conception) et luttons contre l'ignorance et le fanatisme . . . sans aspirer aucunement à mener, en attendant, une vie large ou aisée, nous nous adressons à ceux de nos compatriotes qui s'intéressent au savoir et aux amis de la connaissance, et leur demandons s'il se trouverait parmi eux dix personnes de bonne volonté prêtes à offrir à 'Kâveh', comptant, et immédiatement, chacune une somme de 200 tomans, afin qu'une somme totale de 2.000 tomans puisse être réunie et constituer un fonds préliminaire qui, déposé dans une banque, permettra à notre journal de s'assurer une existence stable et indépendante et aussi, à l'avenir, un bilan équilibré, grâce à ses recettes provenant des abonnements."

La demande n'obtint pas tout le résultat satisfaisant que nous avions espéré. A ce propos, je m'en voudrais de ne pas mentionner un fait qui produisit sur moi une très profonde impression, impression dont je ressens aujourd'hui encore les effets inoubliables. Un jour arriva de la Perse une lettre recommandée, contenant un chèque sur une banque européenne, pour une assez grosse somme, presque la moitié de la somme que nous avions demandée. C'était là un gros succès, une aubaine inespérée. Elle assurait la publication future de notre cher "Kâveh". La joie était entrée chez nous. Mais je vois le visage de Taqizadeh s'assombrir de plus en plus en lisant la lettre qui accompagnait le chèque. Finalement, s'adressant à moi, il dit: "Nous ne pouvons pas accepter cet argent; il vient de l'Est de la Perse, d'un chef féodal qui n'a pas mérité de la patrie". Le chèque fut le jour même retourné à son expéditeur et, dans le n° 6 du "Kâveh", 2^{me} année, 8 juin 1921, une note explicative, de la plume de Taqizadeh, répétait la teneur de notre demande du 17 juillet de l'année précédente, à savoir que la demande en question avait été adressée exclusivement et explicitement aux seules personnes s'intéressant à la connaissance et à la culture, à l'exclusion "des 'Achrâfs'—aristocratie—des ministres, des gouverneurs, des politiciens et autres fonctionnaires d'Etat".

Enfin vint le jour où le "Kâveh" dut suspendre sa parution. Dans un numéro spécial, daté du 30 mars 1922, Taqizadeh annonça officiellement la nouvelle et, s'adressant encore une fois à ses

compatriotes, leur donna ses ultimes conseils. Il leur dit: "Le vrai danger qui menace l'Iran ne vient pas de l'extérieur et le remède ne consiste point à éloigner les Européens de notre pays et à accroître constamment notre armée dans une mesure irraisonnable et non proportionnée à nos besoins réels. Le danger vient de l'intérieur. Le plus grand des dangers d'ordre politique, national, racial, qui doit être considéré comme le plus dangereux des fléaux pour le pays et pour la nation est celui qui vient de l'usage de l'opium et de l'alcool, ainsi que des maladies vénériennes et de l'absence du sport."

Taqizadeh annonçait la suspension provisoire de "Kâveh", mais ce fut, hélas! sa suspension définitive. "Kâveh" avait vécu!

Dans son "A Literary History of Persia" E. G. Browne, après avoir parlé longuement de "Kâveh" et de sa grande signification, conclut son point de vue en ces termes: "la non-parution de 'Kâveh', dès le mois de décembre 1921, fut un coup très sensible pour l'iranisme".¹

Impassible comme toujours, Taqizadeh ne montra point la douleur qu'il en ressentit. Ses compatriotes le décevaient encore une fois. Mais lui qui connaît une grande partie de notre Livre Saint, le Coran, par cœur, il savait qu'il y est dit:

“فَاصْبِرْ كَمَا صَبَرَ أَوَّلُو الْعِزِّ” (الاحقاف، ٤٣).

“وَحُذِرِ الْعَفْوَ وَأَمْرٌ بِالْعُرْفِ وَاعْرِضْ عَنِ الْجَاهِلِينَ” (الاعراف، ١٩٨)

“Patiente comme ont su patienter les maîtres de la volonté” (Al-Aḥqâf, 34) et “sache pardonner et faire ce qu'il faut, sans te soucier des ignorants” (Al-A'râf, 198).

Il sait que déjà 850 ans avant nous, le grand Maïbodi a dit:

“قسمت تو چنین است، آنجا که گنج است رهگذر آن بر رنج است و آنجا که بلاست ثمره آن شفا و عطاست” (کشف الاسرار)

“C'est là ton sort! La vie qui conduit au trésor passe par la douleur et c'est le malheur dont le fruit est la guérison et le don généreux!”

Il sait aussi que:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ الظَّالِمِينَ

“Dieu n'aime pas les injustes!” Nous voulons aussi, de notre côté,

¹ Traduction persane de R. Yassémi, Téhéran, 1316 h.s., p. 322.

et malgré tout, espérer que la victoire finale appartiendra à Yazdân; et nous avons également la conviction que le pays qui produit des êtres de la trempe de Taqizadeh saura défier le temps et triompher de ses vicissitudes: il vivra!



این روزنامه هر ماه یک بار در ۱۶ صفحه نشر میشود
عنوان مراسلات
Redaction «Kaveh»
Berlin - Charlottenbourg
Leibnizstr. 64

قیمت اشتراک
سالانه
در ایران ۳ تومان و نیم ۴ تومان
در آلمان ۱۰۰۰ مارک ۶۰ مارک
در سایر ممالک یکبارگیه انگلیس ۱۶ شلینگ
نمکن است مبادل مبالغ فوق بمقتله روز
یول هر مملکت دیگری فرستاده شود.
قیمت هر شماره برای تک فروشی در
ایران ۳ قران است

کَاوَه

“KAVEH”

Le journal mensuel “Kâveh” comprend en tout 59 numéros de chacun 16 pages (38 centimètres de long sur 28 de large), porte sur une période de cinq années et deux mois (24 janvier 1916 au 30 mars 1922) et se répartit en deux séries: Ancienne série qu'on pourrait qualifier de “série de la guerre” et qui comprend 35 numéros (du 24 janvier 1916 au 15 août 1919) et “la nouvelle série”, série d'après-guerre, comprenant 24 numéros (12 numéros pour la première année —en réalité la 5me de la parution, allant du n° 1 du 22 janvier 1920 au n° 12 du 13 décembre 1920 et 12 numéros pour la seconde année allant du n° 1 du 11 janvier 1921 au n° 12 du 1er décembre 1921). Chaque numéro porte comme date le 1er du mois arabe (Hégire lunaire), ainsi que son correspondant selon l'ère yazdéguerdi et l'ère

chrétienne. Le journal, à partir du premier numéro de la nouvelle série a douze pages de texte et, en plus comme supplément, quatre pages de "l'Histoire des relations russo-persanes", donc au total 16 pages. En plus des 59 numéros réguliers, le journal comprend encore, comme numéro spécial et final, un numéro en quatre pages, daté du 30 mars 1922, annonçant sa suspension provisoire, suspension qui, malheureusement, fut finalement définitive. Ainsi donc, le journal totalise un ensemble d'environ 1.000 grandes pages (exactement 948 pages).

Liste abrégée des principaux articles et études de caractère littéraire, scientifique ou historique, parus dans le journal "KÂVEH", durant les cinq années de sa publication (24 janvier 1916-30 mars 1922):

I. ANCIENNE SÉRIE

1. "Kâveh" et son étendard (n° 1, 24 janvier 1916);
2. Institution du "Soleil rouge" (même numéro);
3. Brigade de cosaques persans (n° 4, 14 mars 1916);
4. Poésie patriotique en Kurde (même numéro que le précédent);
5. Naurouz djamchidi (deux articles) (n° 5-6, 18 avril 1916);
6. Événements survenus en Iran au cours de 1916 (n° 18-19, 15 février 1917);
7. Officiers suédois dans la gendarmerie persane (même numéro);
8. Adib-ul-mamalek, poète persan (n° 20, 15 avril 1917);
9. Livre des documents anglais concernant l'Iran (même numéro);
10. Résultats des travaux de la mission scientifique allemande en Afghanistan (n° 21, 15 juin 1917);
11. Déposition des plaintes de la part des nationalistes persans auprès du Congrès international des socialistes à Stockholm, été 1917 (n° 22, 17 août 1917);
12. Réza Abbassi, miniaturiste persan (n° 23, 15 septembre 1917);
13. Livre persan "Gandjé-Châyégân" (Situation économique de la Perse), paru à Berlin, édition "Kâveh" (n° 24, 15 janvier 1918);
14. Régime parlementaire en Iran (n° 25, 15 février 1918);
15. Déclarations officielles au sujet de l'Iran (traité de Brest-Litowsk) (même numéro que le précédent);
16. Meilleurs ouvrages occidentaux sur la Perse (même numéro);
17. Régime parlementaire en Perse (suite) (n° 26, 15 mars 1918);
18. Meilleurs ouvrages occidentaux sur la Perse (suite) (même numéro);

19. Régime parlementaire en Perse (2^{me} suite) (n° 27, 15 avril 1918);
20. Mines de pétrole en terre bakhtiari en Perse (même numéro que le précédent);
21. Meilleurs ouvrages occidentaux sur la Perse (2^{me} suite) (même numéro);
22. Relations historiques entre la Russie et l'Iran (n° 28, 15 mai 1918);
23. Les meilleurs ouvrages occidentaux sur la Perse (3^{me} suite) (même numéro);
24. Régime parlementaire en Iran (liste des députés des 3 premières législatures ainsi que celle des ministères pendant cette période (3^{me} suite) (n° 29-30, 15 juillet 1918);
25. Meilleurs ouvrages, etc. (4^{me} suite) (même numéro);
26. Minorités en Iran (même numéro);
27. Série de publications de "Kâveh" (même numéro);
28. Dettes de l'Etat persan (n° 31-32, 15 octobre 1918);
29. Note relative à l'orthographe (même numéro);
30. Meilleurs ouvrages, etc. (5^{me} suite) (même numéro);
31. "Nouvelle note" concernant l'alphabet persan (même numéro);
32. Remarques concernant l'alphabet persan (même numéro);
33. Mines de pétrole en terres bakhtiari (n° 35, 15 août 1919);
34. Les plus anciennes poésies persanes après l'Islam (même numéro);
35. Meilleurs ouvrages, etc. (6^{me} suite) (même numéro).

II. NOUVELLE SÉRIE

1. Les plus célèbres poètes persans (Ferdauci) (n° 1, 22 janvier 1920);
2. Situation en Perse (même numéro);
3. Histoire des relations russo-persanes (livre en supplément) (même numéro que le précédent);¹
4. Société pétrolière anglo-persane (même numéro);
5. Les poètes persans les plus célèbres (suite) (même numéro);
6. Situation de la Perse (même numéro);
7. Les progrès de la langue persane (étude comparative) (n° 3, 21 mars 1920);
8. Bolchévisme dans l'ancienne Perse, Mazdak (1^{ère} partie) (même numéro que le précédent);

¹ Cet ouvrage paraît désormais comme supplément à "Kâveh" jusqu'à la suspension définitive de ce journal (4 pages dans chaque numéro, à quelques exceptions près). L'ouvrage inachevé ainsi publié comprend 93 grandes pages. L'auteur espère toujours le compléter et éventuellement le publier.

9. Situation en Perse (même numéro);
10. Remarques¹ (Réclame en Perse) (n° 4-5, 21 mai 1920);
11. Les progrès de la langue persane (suite) (même numéro);
12. Dispute (monâzereh) entre la nuit et le jour (comparaison entre la science selon les savants de l'Orient et ceux de l'Occident) (zoologie et étymologie) (même numéro);
13. Bolchévisme, etc. (suite) (même numéro);
14. Les poètes persans les plus célèbres, etc. Daqiqi (2me suite) (même numéro);
15. Poésie pahlavi et poésie persane ancienne (même numéro);
16. "Monâzereh"—Dispute entre la nuit et le jour (géographie) (n° 6, 18 juin 1920);
17. Education de la femme, base des progrès sociaux (même numéro);
18. Publication de la liste des meilleurs ouvrages occidentaux sur la Perse (même numéro);
19. Comparaison entre la bonne et la mauvaise poésie persane (n° 7, 17 juillet 1920);
20. Les quatre périodes de la langue persane (même numéro);
21. Situation en Perse (même numéro);
22. Compte rendu de l'ouvrage "Persien von der 'pénétration pacifique' zum Protektorat" von Litten (même numéro);
23. Etat de la Perse au temps de Anouchiravân (selon des sources chinoises) (n° 8, 16 août 1920);
24. "Monâzereh" etc. (géologie, ethnologie, religion, étymologie); (même numéro);
25. Les poètes persans les plus célèbres (Abou Chakouré Balkhi) (3me suite) (même numéro);
26. Traduction (exemples comparatifs) (n° 9, 15 septembre 1920);
27. Abdjad Hawaz (n° 10, 15 octobre 1920);
28. Enquête au sujet de certains mots européens et leurs équivalents en persan (même numéro);
29. Les poètes persans les plus célèbres, Ferdauci: L'origine première de "Châh-Nâmeh" (même numéro);
30. Situation en Perse (même numéro);

¹ A partir de cette date, "Kâveh" publie dans presque chacun de ses numéros et sous ce titre "Remarques et observations" (ou un titre de ce genre) un éditorial de la plume de Taqizadeh, dans lequel ce dernier critique d'une façon magistrale et avec une franchise sans précédent la conduite et le comportement de ses compatriotes et leur montre les moyens de se corriger.

31. Une lettre de l'époque sassanide (lettre de Tansar) (n° 11, 13 novembre 1920);
32. La source ancienne et originelle du "Châh-Nâmeh" (2me suite) (même numéro);
33. Paralyse partielle (La situation désavantageuse de la femme en Perse) (n° 12, 13 décembre 1920);
34. La langue persane défectueuse et ses causes (même numéro);
35. Source ancienne du "Châh-Nâmeh" (3me suite) (même numéro);
36. Préambule à la 2me année du "Kâveh" (nouvelle série). Conditions du relèvement national de la Perse (n° 1, 11 janvier 1921);
37. "Monâzereh" (cosmologie) (même numéro);
38. "Le persan est du sucre" (nouvelle persane) (même numéro);
39. Source persane du "Châh-Nâmeh" (4me suite) (même numéro);
40. Réponse à l'enquête (voir le n° 28) (même numéro);
41. Téhéran (étude historique) (même numéro);
42. L'ancienne poésie persane (époque sassanide; début de la période islamique) (même numéro);
43. Les hommes célèbres de l'Orient et de l'Occident (Seyyed Djamal-ed-dine) (n° 3, 11 mars 1921);
44. Les "Châh-Nâmeh" en persan (même numéro);
45. Naurouz et le calendrier persan (proposition) (n° 4, 10 avril 1921);
46. Les hommes célèbres etc. (Le Prince Krapotkin) (même numéro);
47. "Monâzereh" (etymologie, géographie, ethnologie) (même numéro);
48. Téhéran (étude historique) (même numéro);
49. Les journaux paraissant en persan (liste détaillée) (même numéro);
50. Une lettre d'Emir Teymour Gourgân à Charles VI, roi de France (Fac-similé) (n° 9, mai 1921);
51. Attila, fléau du Ciel (1ère partie) (même numéro);
52. Histoire de l'imprimerie et du journalisme en Perse (même numéro);
53. L'ancienne musique de la Perse (même numéro);
54. Les hommes célèbres etc. (Seyyed Ahmad Khan) (n° 6, 8 juin 1921);
55. Attila, etc. (2me partie) (même numéro);
56. Les principales monnaies (étude économique) (même numéro);
57. Le journalisme en Perse au XIII^e siècle hégire (même numéro);
58. Les hommes célèbres, etc. (Karl Marx) (n° 7, 7 juillet 1921);

59. Les plus anciennes relations entre la Perse et l'Allemagne (même numéro);
60. Les "Châh-Nâmeh" persans (supplément) (même numéro);
61. Les prodiges scientifiques en Occident et en Orient (magnétisme, spiritisme, etc.) (n° 8, 6 août 1921);
62. La première expédition militaire de l'Europe en Perse (même numéro);
63. Le traité irano-russe (du 17 Djamâdi-ul-Akhara 1339 h.l.) (même numéro);
64. Compte rendu de l'ouvrage "Arabian Medicine" par Edward G. Browne (même numéro);
65. Le soufisme et ses origines (n° 9, 4 septembre 1921);
66. Supplément au sujet de Seyyed Djamal-ud-dine Assad-Abadi, dit Afghani (même numéro);
67. Note au sujet de l'article sur le calendrier persan (voir le n° 45, nouvelle série); (même numéro);
68. Le traité irano-russe (observations) (même numéro);
69. Conception du monde selon les Hindous et selon les Iraniens (n° 10, 3 octobre 1921);
70. Les hommes célèbres, etc. (Martin Luther) (même numéro);
71. Les poètes persans les plus célèbres: Ferdauci, sa vie et son oeuvre (5me suite) (même numéro);
72. "Les Mille et une nuits" (n° 11, 2 novembre 1921);
73. Compte rendu de deux récents livres: 1° H. Massé: "Essai sur le poète Saadi"; 2° la traduction anglaise par E. G. Browne des "Tschâr-Maghâleh" de Nezami-Arouzi (même numéro);
74. Les poètes les plus célèbres de la Perse: Ferdauci (6me suite) (même numéro);
75. Les réformes fondamentales et les réformes urgentes (n° 12, 1^{er} décembre 1921);
76. "Le Café de Surat" (traduit en persan) (même numéro);
77. "Un chapitre de la civilisation grecque" (Bibliothèque d'Alexandrie) (même numéro);
78. Les poètes les plus célèbres de la Perse: Ferdauci (7me suite) et le Compendium (même numéro);
79. Les dangers menaçant l'indépendance politique de la Perse (numéro extra du 30 mars 1922, annonçant la suspension provisoire du "Kâveh").

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- 1930 Az Parwīz tā Čangīz, Tehrān.
- 1937 Gāh-šumārī dar Īrān-i qadīm, Tehrān.
- 1938 Tuḥfatu'l-mulūk (ed.), Tehrān.
- 1943 Maqālāt-i Taqīzādeh, I, Tehrān.
- 1948 Naurūz, *Yādgār*, iv/3, 52–66.
Tawajjuh-i Īrāniān dar guzašta ba-ṭibb u aṭibbā, *Yādgār*, v/6–7, 9–22.
Tārīkh-i Zardušt, *Yādgār*, v/8–9, 27–44.
- 1951 *Tārīkh-i 'Arabistān wa qaum-i 'Arab dar awān-i zuhūr-i Islām*, i–iii, Tehrān.
- 1955 Sāl u māh-i Turkhā, *Symbolae in honorem Z.V. Togan*, 38–49.
- 1956 Sayyid Jamālu'd-dīn ma'rūf ba-Afgānī, *Mardān-i khud-sākhta*, Tehrān, 42–54.
Mānī wa dīn-i ū (ba-inḍimām-i mutūn-i 'arabī wa fārsī dar bāra-yi Mānī wa mānawīyyat, ba-ihtimām-i Aḥmad Afšār-i Širāzī), Tehrān.
- 1959 Zamān-i Zardušt, *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres de Tabriz*, xi/1, 29–38.
Šābi'īn, *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres de Tabriz*, xi/1, 19–27.
- 1960 *Khitaḥa-i Āqā-yi Sayyid Ḥasan Taqīzādeh muštamil bar šamma-ī az tārīkh-i awā'il-i inqilāb wa mašrūfiyyat-i Irān*, Tehrān.

SAIF-AL-DIN BĀKHARZI

Par IRAJ AFSHAR

L'article suivant est un résumé d'un ensemble de recherches et d'investigations au sujet de la biographie de Saif-al-din Bākharzi et de ses descendants.

Saif-al-din Bākharzi, un des plus grands sufis de la première moitié du septième siècle de l'hégire, est connu dans la littérature persane par ses quatrains attrayants. Selon des sources historiques, Bākharzi et ses descendants ont été, pendant des longues années, les maîtres spirituels de nombreux disciples Kubravides.

La plus vieille trace qu'on puisse trouver de son nom dans les textes anciens, c'est le récit relaté par 'Atā Malek (écrit en 650–8) dans *Tārīkh-e Jahāngushāy* au sujet de la fondation d'une école à Bokhārā.¹ Après 'Atā Malek la plus vieille source sur Saif-al-din, c'est *Athmār-al-Ashjār*, écrit par 'Ali-Shāh ibn Muḥammad Khwārezmi (Bukhāri), un des disciples de Bākharzi, (en 687), mentionnant sa mort, dimanche le 24 Dhi-al-Qa'deh 659,² et ceci est tout à fait conforme aux affirmations d'*Al-Javāher-al-Muḍīeh*.³

En général, Bākharzi était connu sous son titre: Saif-al-din. Son *konyeh*, d'après les documents anciens,⁴ surtout *Owrād-al-aḥbāb* écrit par son petit-fils,⁵ est Abu-al-Ma'ālī. Toutes les sources

¹ *Tārīkh-e Jahāngushāy*, éd. M. Qazvini, vol. III, p. 9.

² Manuscrit du treizième siècle appartenant à Prof. S. Naficy: p. 216:

پس بنده از روی ارادت به بندگی شیخ الشیوخ سلطان الشریعة والطریقة
والحقیقة سیف الملة والدين ابی المعالی سعید بن المطهر الباخری قدس الله
روحه پیوست
et p. 220:

تا چون تاریخ به ششصد و پنجاه و نه رسید در شب یکشنبه بیست و چهارم
ذیقعدة وقت نماز خفتن شیخ قالب تهی کرد و هفت روز رنجور بود

³ *Al-Javāher-al-Muḍīeh*, Heydar-ābād 1332, vol. I, p. 249.

⁴ *Mujmal-e Faṣīḥ-e Khwāfi*, *Tārīkh-e Mullā-Zādeh*.

⁵ *Owrād-al-Aḥbāb va Fuṣūṣ-al-Ādāb*, f. 64 a (MS. écrit en 778 de la Bibl. Nafedh-Pāshā).

sont d'accord au sujet de son nom: Sa'id. D'après la plupart des documents, nous savons que ses contemporains l'appelaient "Sheikh-al-'ālam".¹

Selon *Qandiyeh*, à Bukhārā et Samarqand il était renommé comme Khwājah-e Faṭḥ-ābādī,² et cela parce que son *khāneqāh* se trouvait à Faṭḥ-Ābād près de Bukhārā.

D'après *Semt-al-'Olā*, son père se nommait Muṭahhar.³ Les auteurs d'*Al-Javāher-al-Muḍīeh* et de *Tārikh-e Mullā-Zādeh* relatent que Saif-al-din est né le samedi, neuf Sha'bān 586.⁴ Mais Faṣīḥ-e Khwāfi a écrit 576. La date 586 est juste parce que nous savons que la date de sa mort est 659 et selon Mullā-Zādeh il a vécu soixante-treize ans. Quant à la date de sa mort, les auteurs ne sont pas d'accord: Mujmal-e Faṣīḥ Khwāfi; 646; Shāhed-e Sādeq: 653; et quelques autres sources comme *Tārikh-e Gozideh*, *Tārikh-e Kabir*, *Ḥabīb-al-Siyar* donnent la date 658. Mais dans les sources proche de son siècle, *Athmār-al-Ashjār* et *Al-Javāher-al-Muḍīeh*, ainsi que *Tārikh-e Mullā-Zādeh*, *Nafahāt-al-Uns*, l'année 659 est donnée comme la date de sa mort et ceci est plus vraisemblable. L'auteur d'*Athmār-al-Ashjār* écrit: le samedi 24 Dhi-al-Qa'deh 659.⁵

Avant de parler des chroniques de sa vie, il faut rappeler que son petit-fils, Abu-al-Mafākher Yaḥyā, l'auteur du *Owrād-al-Aḥbāb*, raconte dans ce livre que Saif-al-din rédigeait un journal secret de sa vie, qu'on a retrouvé après sa mort.⁶

C'est dans sa ville natale qu'il a fait ses études classiques,

¹ *Mujmal-e Faṣīḥ-e Khwāfi*, *Tārikh-e Gozideh*, *Tārikh-e Mullā-Zādeh*, *Tazkerat-al-Owliyā-ye-Mehrābi*.

² *Qandiyeh*, éd. I. Afshār, pp. 64-5.

³ Mais *Ḥabīb-al-Siyar* (écrit en 930) et quelques textes moins anciens ont connu son père sous le nom de Muzaḥhar, et ceci a donné lieu à une grande confusion. Le plus véridique semble être celui de Muṭahhar pour cette simple raison que le fils de Saif-al-din s'appelaient aussi Muṭahhar.

⁴ *Tārikh-e Mullā-Zādeh*, Tehran 1339, pp. 40-2; l'auteur a ajouté ce quatrain:

تصوفا چو احیا کرد معبود سعید بن المظهر بود مقصود
ولادت در نهم از ماه شعبان زهجرت پانصد و هشتاد و شش بود

⁵ En *Tārikh-e Mullā-Zādeh* on trouve un quatrain sur la mort de Saif-al-din:

در ششصد و پنجاه و نه از حکم ورود در بیست و چهار ماه ذو القعدة که بود
آن مرغ های عالم همت را باز اجل از چنگ جهانش بر بود

⁶ *Owrād-al-Aḥbāb*, f. 89 a.

complétées par quelques années d'études de *Feqh*, *Qarā'at* et *Tafsir* à Harāt et à Nishābūr.¹

Puis ayant rendu visite à Sheikh Najm-al-din Kubrā, fondateur de *Tariqeh-e Kubraviyeh*, à Khwārazm, il le choisit comme maître et guide, et après avoir accompli un "*arba'in*", il reçut l'honneur d'être un des successeurs de Najm-al-din.²

Abu-al-Mafākher Yaḥyā dans *Owrād-al-Aḥbāb* nous a donné les اسناد الخرقه de Saif-al-din:

والبس هو (الشيخ اسمعيل العصري) شيخنا آية الكبرى ابا الجناب نجم الدين احمد بن عمر البكري الخيوق الصوفي والبس هو شيخ العالم قطب الوقت ابا المعالي سيف الحق والدين سعيد بن المظهر بن سعيد الصوفي البخارزي³
4. اسناد تلقين الذكر sous le titre

ثم سمعت الذكر من مولائي و ابي شيخ الاسلام كاشف الاسرار زبدة الاخيار برهان الحق والدين ابي المظفر احمد بن سعيد بن المظهر البخارزي . . . وهو اخذه عني شيخ الشيوخ نجم الحق والدين ابي الجناب احمد بن عمر البكري

Selon Mujmal, il a été investi, avant de partir pour Khwārazm, par Sheikh Tāj-al-din Maḥmūd ibn Ḥadad (?) en recevant de lui le *Kherqeh*.⁵

Avant 618 (la date de l'assassinat de Najm-al-din Kubrā), Saif-al-din quitta Najm-al-din pour se rendre à Bukhārā, où il passa le reste de sa vie, donc une quarantaine d'années. D'après *Owrād-al-Aḥbāb* Saif-al-din aurait été persécuté par les infidèles pour la propagation de la *Tariqeh-e Kubraviyeh* et le développement de l'Islamisme. Abu-al-Mafākher écrit: Saif-al-din fut arrêté, ligoté et déporté par les infidèles, et il prononça en même temps ce quatrain:⁶

بی خویش و تبار و بی قرینم کردی با فاقه و فقر همنشینم کردی
این مرتبه مقربان در تست یارب بد چه خدمت این چنینم کردی

Le renom de Saif-al-din était si grand que Khwājū-ye Kermāni (689-753), qui n'était même pas de ses contemporains, lui a consacré une *Qaṣideh*, où il l'a loué majestueusement.⁷

¹ Faṣīḥ-e Khwāfi raconte que Saif-al-din a lu *Ḥadīth* chez Shāhāb-al-din Suhrevardi. Mais en *Tārikh-e Mullā-Zādeh*, aussi on trouve le nom d'Emām Ṣāyen-al-din comme "*Ustād*" de *Ḥadīth*.

² Toutes les sources ont parlé de ce sujet.

³ *Owrād-al-Aḥbāb*, f. 64 a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 64 b.

⁵ Sous les chroniques de l'année 646. Pour Tāj-al-din voir les notices de Muḥammad Qazvini dans *Shadd-al-Ezār*, pp. 307 et 352.

⁶ *Owrād-al-Aḥbāb*, f. 173 b.

⁷ *Divān-e Khwājū-ye Kermāni*, éd. Suheyli, Tehran 1336, pp. 598-600.

Les renseignements les plus importants que nous possédons sur ses compagnons et ses contemporains sont les suivants:

Dans *Manāqeb-al-Ārefin* on trouve deux récits au sujet de la rencontre entre Jalāl-al-din Muḥammad Rumi (Mowlānā) et Mazhar-al-din Muṭahhar (le troisième fils de Saif-al-din) qui font croire que Mowlānā était beaucoup considéré par Saif-al-din.¹

Le deuxième récit rapporte que Malek Shams-al-din Hendi, Malek de Shirāz, expédia un des ghazals de Mowlānā à Saif-al-din qui après l'avoir lu fut tellement enflammé qu'il poussa un grand cri, se déchira la chemise et tomba en coma.²

Rowḍāt-al-Jamāt attribue à Naṣir-al-din Ṭūsī un quatrain satirique contre Saif-al-din:

مفخر دهر شیخ باخرزی بالله ار تو به ارزی
با خردمند کی توانی زیست چون ترا گفته اند با خری³

Selon *Rashaḥāt-e 'Ein-al Ḥayāt*, Bākharzi et Qarib se fréquentaient beaucoup, et Bākharzi qualifiait Khwājeh-Qarib d'homme parfait.⁴

Jamāl-e Tafreshi, en *Mulḥaqāt-al-Ṣorāḥ*, parle d'une lettre écrite par Bākharzi à Kamāl-al-din Khwārezmi, un des disciples Kubravides.⁵

Dans *Qandīyeh* on trouve deux récits concernant les relations de Saif-al-din avec Nur-al-din Baṣīr, le grand sufi de Samarqand.⁶

Ses œuvres

(1) شرح اسماء الحسنی (*Hadiyat-al-Ārefin*, vol. I, p. 391). Nous ne connaissons aucun manuscrit de cet ouvrage.

(2) وقائع الخلوة en arabe. Il y a un manuscrit dans la collection de l'Université de Leiden (de Goeje: *Cat. codd. or. Bibl. acad. Lugd.*

¹ *Manāqeb-al-Ārefin*, vol. I, pp. 143-5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 267.

³ *Rowḍāt-al-Jamāt-e Khwānsārī*, p. 81. M. T. Modarres-e Raḍavi dans "*Aḥwāl va Āthār-e Khwājeh Naṣir*" (Tehran, 1334, p. 331-2) nous donne la réponse de Saif-al-din:

پرو ای دوست طاعتی می کن تا به کی فسق و معصیت ورزی
آخر عمر با تو خواهیم زیست چون مرا گفته اند با خری

⁴ *Rashaḥāt-e 'Ein-al Ḥayāt*, Kanpur 1912, p. 50.

⁵ Barthold, *Turkestan v Epokhu Mongolskago Nachestvoia*, Textes, p. 136.

⁶ *Qandīyeh*, pp. 64-5.

Bat., 1873, V, p. 18, cf. Brockelmann: *GAL.*, Suppl. I, p. 810; P. Voorhoeve: *Handlist . . . Leiden*, 1957, p. 397).

(3) وصية السفر en persan, une des sources d'*Owrād-al-Aḥbāb* d'Abu-al-Mafākher Yahyā.¹

(4) رساله در عشق en persan. Je connais un manuscrit du huitième siècle.²

(5) رباعیات (Quatrains). Ses quatrains sont confondus avec ceux de Khayyām, Bābā-Afzal, Abū-Sa'id, etc.³ Pour la première fois Khudā-Bakhsh publia 51 quatrains d'après un manuscrit de sa bibliothèque,⁴ et après lui Sa'id Naficy nous donna 90 quatrains.⁵

Son "Khāneqāh" et sa tombe

Saif-al-din fut enterré dans son *Khāneqāh* à Faṭḥābād près de Bukhārā. Selon *Mujmal* (sous la date 649) la tombe de Saif-al-din a été fondée par la mère de Manku Qāān.

Ibn Baṭṭa, en voyageant, descendit dans ce *Khāneqāh* et en parle de la façon suivante: Ce *Khāneqāh* possède un des "*owqāf*" dont le bénéfice est considérable.⁶

L'auteur de *Ṭarā'eq-al-Ḥaqā'eq* au quatorzième siècle de l'hégire parle de ce *Khāneqāh* et selon lui c'est Tamerlan qui fut le fondateur de ce foyer.

Ses descendants

Saif-al-din avait trois fils: Jalāl-al-din Muḥammad, Burhān-al-din Aḥmad et Mazhar-al-din Muṭahhar. Nous connaissons aussi, de cette famille, d'autres personnages issus de Burhān-al-din Aḥmad qui ont vécu jusqu'à la moitié du dixième siècle de l'hégire.

(1) Jalāl-al-din Muḥammad, fils aîné de Bākharzi, né le samedi 5 Rabi'-al-avval 626, étudiait le *feqh* chez son père.⁷ Il fut assassiné le

¹ *Owrād-al-Aḥbāb*, f. 204 a. Voir aussi F. Meier, *Die Fawā'id al-Ġamāl wa-Fawā'id al-Ġalāl des Naḡm al-dīn al-Kubrā*, Wiesbaden, 1957.

² Bibliothèque Centrale de l'Université de Tehran, No. 2449.

³ Sa'id Naficy: *Sokhanān-e Manẓūm-e Abū Sa'id Abu-al-Khayr*, p. 60.

⁴ Khudā-Bakhsh: *ZDMG.*, 1905, pp. 345-54.

⁵ Sa'id Naficy: *Saif-al-din Bākharzi*, *Majalle Dāneshk. Adab.*, vol. II, No. 3, pp. 1-15.

⁶ *Safarnāmeḥ-e Ibn Baṭṭa*, trad. de M. A. Muvahhed, Tehran 1337, p. 373.

⁷ *Al-Javāher-al-Muḍīeh*, vol. II, p. 56.—Rashid-al-din Faḍl Allah parle de lui, sous le nom de Burhān-al-din (Barthold, *loc. cit.*, p. 126).

mercredi 16 Jamādi-al-Ūlā 661 près de Bukhārā et enterré au *Khān-eqāh* de Fatḥābād.¹

(2) La première trace qu'on puisse trouver de Burhān-al-din Aḥmad est dans *Semt-al-'Olā*: c'est le fait que Tarkān Khātūn la Qarakhataïde de Kermān demanda à Saif-al-din d'envoyer un de ses fils à Kermān pour enseigner à l'école fondée par elle. Saif-al-din envoya Burhān-al-din.²

(3) Selon *Manāqeb-al-'Ārefīn* Maḥzar-al-din Muṭahhar après la mort de son père se rendit à Qoniyeh où il a demeuré quelques années. Il était en relation avec Mowlānā-ye Rumi.³

(4) Burhān-al-din Aḥmad avait un fils nommé Abu-al-Mafākher Yaḥyā qui se rendit en 712 de Kermān à Bukhārā où il mourut en 736. Quand Ibn Baṭūṭa était en voyage à Bukhārā c'est Abu-al-Mafākher qui lui a donné l'hospitalité.⁴

L'auteur du *Tārikh-e Mullā-Zādeh* parle de deux fils d'Abu-al-Mafākher.⁵

Nous avons parlé quelquefois d'*Owrād-al-Aḥbāb va Fuṣūṣ-al-Ādāb*, écrit par Abu-al-Mafākher, le traité bien utile et intéressant sur le *Taṣawwuf*. On y peut trouver les chroniques de la biographie de l'auteur.

(5) Les autres descendants:

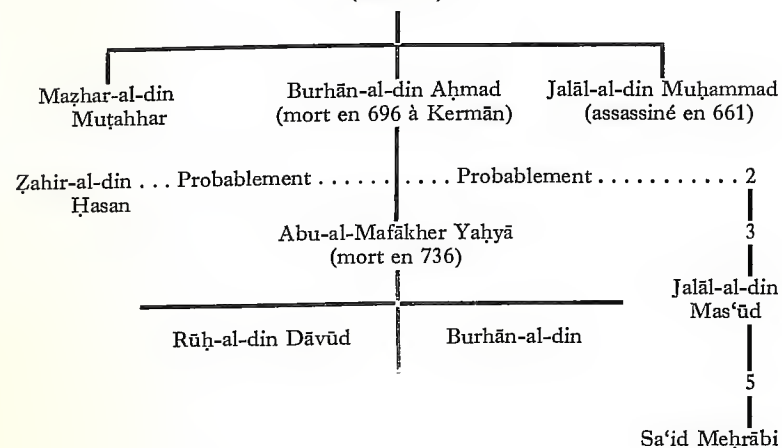
Selon *Tazkerat-al-Owliyā-ye Mehrābi* nous connaissons d'autres descendants de Burhān-al-din, comme suit:

(a) Khwājeh Ṣāḥir-al-din Ḥasan.

(b) Jalāl-al-din Mas'ūd, le grand-père de l'auteur de ce livre. Il était d'abord à Bukhārā, puis il se rendit à Kermān.

(c) Sa'id Mehrābi Kermāni, l'auteur de *Tazkerat-al-Owliyā*. Il écrit dans son livre qu'il était *Khaṭīb* à Masjed-e Jāme' de Kermān.⁶

TABLEAU
Saif-al-din Bākhari
(586-659)



¹ *Tārikh-e Mullā-Zādeh*, p. 43.

² *Semt-al-'Olā*, pp. 43 et 58.—Pour les autres chroniques de Burhān-al-din voir *Shadd-al-Ezār*, pp. 121-2; *Mujmal* sous la date 646; *Tazkerat-al-Owliyā*, pp. 78-81.

³ *Manāqeb-al-'Ārefīn*, pp. 143-5 et 267.

⁴ *Safarnāme-e Ibn Baṭūṭa*, p. 373.

⁵ *Tārikh-e Mullā-Zādeh*, p. 43.

⁶ *Tazkerat-al-Owliyā*, pp. 64 et 77-89.

A ROYAL POEM

By A. J. ARBERRY

That the Muẓaffarid ruler Shāh Shujā' (1331–84), patron of letters and learning, himself had literary pretensions is of course well known; apart from a small handful of verses, however, nothing from his pen has hitherto appeared to have survived.¹ But now a complete *mathnawī* by him has turned up in that treasure-house of oriental rarities, Sir Chester Beatty's library in Dublin; it is proposed in this paper to give a brief account of this discovery. It is hoped that the description may lead to the identification of other copies elsewhere; for the poem, apart from its literary interest, is of some historical importance and certainly merits publication, but it would be hazardous to publish on the basis of a single manuscript which, though good, is nevertheless not perfect.

The poem, whose title is given by the author as *Rūḥ al-'āshiqīn*,² occupies folios 248–72 of a collectaneous volume (No. 324) which also comprises the *Manṭiq al-ṭair* (folios 1–145) and the *Asrār-nāma* (folios 146–247) of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār. The volume is the product of a single scribe, Ḥājji Aḥmad ibn Ḥājji Sālūk al-Tūlamī, who has dated the *Asrār-nāma* transcription Muḥarram 846 (May–June 1442) and the *Manṭiq al-ṭair* transcription 847 (1443–4). The copy of the *Rūḥ al-'āshiqīn* is itself undated, but clearly belongs to the same period; the stitching shows that it was transcribed immediately after the *Asrār-nāma*. The copyist wrote an elegant *nasta'liq*, 17 lines to the page. The paper is of good quality but has been stained by water; there is some quite attractive illumination.

¹ See Qāsim Ghani, *Tārīkh-i 'aṣr-i Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 324–53; E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, III, p. 166.

² The title is thus vocalized on the title-page, with the subsidiary title *Dah nāma-yi Shāh Shujā'*. The best known *Dah nāma* is of course that of Auḥādī (d.738/1337–8), sometimes called *Manṭiq al-'ushshāq*, which may have furnished the model; see *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition), I, p. 764.

The *Rūḥ al-'āshiqīn*, which is not mentioned by Ḥājji Khalifa, opens with a prose preface in which the author briefly sets out the history of its composition.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين . چون از اقتضای قضای کردگار و تواتر لیل و نهار چنان اتفاق افتاد که میان این ضعیف اقلّ عباد الله الغفور شاه شجاع بن محمد بن المظفر بن المنصور و برادرم محمود — أصلح الله شأنهما وجعل غابر عمرهما خيراً من ماضيهما — بواسطه افساد حسّاد بمنازعت و عناد انجاسید چنانکه مشهور شد و همگنانرا معلوم از نزدیک و دور، غرض که دران سرگردانی و پریشانی دفع الملل و اشغال خاطررا از محیط ضمیر زخار هر روز چند درر اِبکار بسعی غوّاص افکار برون می آورد و در سلك نظم می کشید تا از سواد خامه يك ده نامه منظم گشت و آنرا روح العاشقین نام نهاد النخ

The poem was thus composed at the time when Shāh Shujā' and his brother Shāh Maḥmūd were disputing the throne of Fārs. Indeed, Shāh Shujā' in the concluding couplets dated his poem 768 (1366–7).

ز هجرت هفصد و شصت و دگر هشت بدوران هلالی سال بگذشت
که این ده نامه را کردیم آخر سواد خامه را کردیم آخر
عروس زاده طبع شجاعیست که دلهارا بسوی عشق داعیست

This precise dating makes it certain that the *Rūḥ al-'āshiqīn* was written, or completed, to celebrate the return of Shāh Shujā' to Shīrāz after his brother Shāh Maḥmūd had driven him from the city following an eleven months' siege, thereafter withdrawing to content himself with Iṣfahān until his death in 776 (1375).¹

The poem proper opens (folio 249a, line 6) with a conventional exordium in praise of God:

بنام آنک اندر پادشاهی ز اوج ماه دارد تا بماهی

Then comes a brief panegyric of the Prophet Muḥammad (folio 249b, line 2), beginning in Arabic:

نسیم الصبح قد بلغ السلام علی ختم الرسل خیر الانام

¹ Shāh Maḥmūd yielded up Shīrāz in Dhu 'l-Qa'da 767 (August 1366), see K. V. Zetterstéen in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, p. 258. The poem was thus composed very shortly afterwards.

There follows immediately (folio 250a, line 2) an account of the circumstances under which the poem was composed (سبب نظم کتاب).

در ایامی که بختم خفتگی داشت فلک با من سر آشفته‌گی داشت
 دلم پر تاب بود و جان پر آذر ز قول دشمن و فعل برادر...
 کشیده لشکر محمود چون کوه بدو از هر طرف خلقی بانبوه
 برهنه روز و شب شمشیر من بود بخون شان تشنه لب شمشیر من بود
 نیاسودم من از جنگی و پرخاش زدم شمشیر با اشرار و اوباش
 کمرگاه من از آهن بفرسود چو فرصت نیست کوشش کی کند سود
 دلم آشفته حالی آن زمان داشت که از من بخت فرخ رخ نهان داشت
 بحمد الله که ایزد داد یاری که بازم با کف آمد شهر یاری
 بمن فضل خدای غیب‌دان کرد که پیروزم دگر بر دشمنان کرد
 سپاه خصم را دادم بتاراج گرفتم باز تخت و باره و تاج
 بشکر نعمت پروردگار زبانی در دهن گوینده دارم
 غرض آنست کندر روز سختی که گردون داشت پیشه شوربختی
 دران روزان که بختم گشت ناساز که چون بیرون شدم از شهر شیراز.

Shāh Shujā' elected to tell the story of his quarrel and ultimate reconciliation with his brother by means of an allegory of ten letters exchanged between "lover" and "beloved"; the rhyming couplets are interspersed from time to time with *ghazals* in the same metre, the poet using as his *takhalluṣ* Shujā'.¹ The poem ends with a touching description of the reunion of the "lovers"; the royal poet apologises for any note of self-praise which may have crept into his composition.

اگر حرفیست در وی خودستائی نبود آن از غرور پادشائی
 ضرورت بود در شعر این طریقت نیم خودبین خداینم حقیقت
 بیمن دولت دین محمد توکلنا علی الله المجد

This interesting poem, in which we find the erotic convention fully developed as an instrument of politics, undoubtedly deserves a closer study than is possible within the scope of a short paper; it may well throw new light on the literary tendencies of the age of Ḥāfiẓ.

¹ The earliest instance of the intermixture of *mathnawī* and *ghazal* appears to be the 'Ushshāq-nāma of 'Irāqī, also called *Dah faṣl*, followed by the *Qirān al-sa'dain* of Amīr Khusrāu; see my *Song of Lovers*, p. ix.

THE PREFACE TO THE SIDDHASĀRA-ŚĀSTRA

By H. W. BAILEY

In the city of Why-'ndywk-Šhypwhr, Γουε-αντιοχ-σαβωρ, Vandō-Šāvur, Gundē-Šāpur, one of the capitals of Sasanian Ērān-šahr, the theory and practice of both Greek and Indian medicine were brought into association. Through Persia and Syria in turn the new Muslim culture came to know both aspects.¹ Further East in Iranian-speaking lands in Khotan and beyond, from about 200 to 1000 A.D., Indian medical texts were studied and rendered with enthusiasm into the local languages of Khotan and Kuci (Kucha), as into Uigur Turkish and Tibetan.²

The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta has survived both in the original Sanskrit and in complete Tibetan translation, and also partially in Khotanese and Uigur Turkish.³ Many of the herbs prescribed in Indian medicine did not grow in Central Asia, hence their names are often taken over as loan-words from the original Sanskrit.

To the Khotanese translation of the Siddhasāra is prefaced a metrical introduction in ten four-line strophes in which the occasion of the translation is set out. The work was rendered from the *ttā-gūttaa*-language, that is, probably, from the Tibetan. The translator's name does not appear. The owner of the manuscript has written his name in Sogdian script upon folio 156 of the manuscript Ch. ii 002

¹ Some notice of these connexions on the Persian side are given in my *Zoroastrian Problems*, 81 ff.

² The Siddhasāra-śāstra and Jīvaka-pustaka in *Khotanese Texts*, I; Ch. 00265 in *Khotanese Texts*, III, 17-19; P 2893.32-267 in *Khotanese Texts*, III, 82-97. Kuci texts in J. Filliozat, *Fragments de textes koutchéens de médecine et de magie*. Uigur Turkish in G. R. Rachmati, *Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren*, I and II. Tibetan medical texts are in the Tanjur, in the catalogue of P. Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain*, III, pp. 500 ff.

³ Rachmati, *Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren*, II, 20 ff., where the identification of the text as the Siddhasāra had not yet been possible, see *Khotanese Texts*, I, p. vii, and *Medicinal plant names in Uigur Turkish in Mélanges Fuad Köprülü*, 51 ff.

edited in *Khotanese Texts*, I, 104: *čw kymš'n*, that is Čang Kin-šan of the Čang family of the rulers of Tun-huang. This name occurs also in both Brāhmī and Sogdian scripts in the colophon of the Jātaka-stava.¹

The text of these introductory verses is printed in my *Khotanese Texts*, I, pp. 2–3, which is out of print. It is therefore desirable to reprint it here. The translation with some few justificatory notes will show its various points of interest. We assist at the workshop of Indian cultural expansion in Central Asia.

Text

- siddham
1 aurga tsūṃ raṃnāṃ drraina² šadi jsa briya
.....
mahaiśvarā brahmāṃ: tti ma āysda yināṃde ~
khu ttu šāstrā byūttā yinūṃ nva arthā 1
2 siddhasārā šāstrā cu mara vījye myāña ~
kamalā māñāṃdā cu kṣyāṃ iṃdrryau jsa uspurā ~
pichaṣṭu jsīni hūrākā d<u>khāṃ jinākā ~
anāhāṃ mu'šdi'nai mahāsamudrā 2
3 šī' maṃ šāstrā hīdvāṃ ye pvi'stai arthāna ~
tta ttai sājira udaiśā' pīsāṃ brrāṃbe ~
ihīye phara jsa garkha vyaṃjaṃ pātcā ~
dasta berā ttidā muhye harye akirā 3
4 daṃdā tsve khu ri maṃ dva drrayi ni ya ~
cu jsāṃ pūsākā šī' jsāṃ ttaṃdi šau ~
hāysai diṣṭāṃdā vīja sājaka baiśā ~
daiṣṭa-karma pastrīyāṃdā hanaśa tsvāṃda 4
5 yaugamālyo jsa yuḍāṃdā šau-kṣirā krra ~
apaysāṃdā āchai cvai nayā ni bvīra ~
viysāṃ³ dūšā' kālā u rve haṃdari pātcā ~
pijsanīra-ṃ aprrasama arve muḍa phari satva 5
6 ttiña beḍa tcāi-syāṃ ye paḍa-ttanā nāma ~
tu šāstrā byaudi khaṇḍā ttāgūttāu phari jsa ~
samīše piḍai khve šī' hamye uspurā ~
byūttā vaskai ra ni ya bvāma hota 6

¹ M. J. Dresden, *The Jātaka-stava*, p. 446.

² -ai- written -iṃ-.

³ -aṃ written with two dots as -ā.

- 7 šī' tu šāstrā jsoṇakya¹ ṣṭāṃ rrvī vī haiṣṭe ~
miṣḍi gyastī mu'šdi' udiśā hamaiyi ttu ~
ttāgūtto ṣṭāna uspurā ṣe' pasti byūte
ustimāṃjsyāṃ satvāṃ kiṃṇā cu āchinuḍa 7
8 cu maṃ ye drrāma arve pvīstyedā ~
ttayī-śī mistā vījā tte šāstrā bvākā² ~
šī' hā pā gīsti vinau mātsarā širkā
rarūyi māsti uspurā dāse šī' 8
9 priṇahāna basta vasva mu'šdi' udiśā' ~
yinīde ustimye kālā satvāṃ krra ~
krra beḍa vījā āchinakā jsa haṃtsa ~
miṣḍi gyastuṃ a ttī vari byāti hamāne 9
10 drraina raṃnānā hīye haṭhi jsa ttiyāṃ ~
gyastūñe³ mu'šdi' jsi u šadi jsa pātcā ~
dva-padya niṣi'māde āchā biśā ~
ba'ysūstā byehīṃde tta tta khvaṃ kṣa'mā 10 || ||

After the usual *siddham* "success" for auspicious commencement the poem begins with an invocation to the Three Jewels of the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. One line (for which space was left) seems then to have been lost, leaving only three lines in the strophe. This line may have contained a list of further guardians from the Hindu tradition. I give first the translation.

- 1 I come with reverence to the Three Jewels with faith in love,
that I may be able to translate this śāstra-treatise according to
its true meaning,
2 the Siddhasāra-śāstra which stands among books on medicine
like the head complete with all the six faculties, manifest
bestower of life, destroyer of ills, a vast ocean of favour for
the protectorless.
3 This Indian śāstra-treatise here was replete with meaning,
being so studied formerly by the ācārya-teachers, in foreign
language, moreover the style difficult, a text to be acquired for
knowledge, so much so that it remained for us unproductive.
4 So far did this go that here there were not two or three
(copies?); as to the reader, there was but one. The medical

¹ *jsāṃṇakya* with -āṃ for older -o- and -au-.

² *kā* written with one dot *kaṃ*.

³ *mū* written for *stū*.

- physicians discarded it entirely as a learner's book; they repressed the uses of it in this world; they ceased.
- 5 With garlands of yoga medical practices they practised their treatment in the whole kingdom. The disease was unrecognized because they knew no theory of it. Unsuitable was the doṣa-basis, time and season otherwise also. They were applying to them improper medicaments; many beings died.
- 6 At that time there was the Tsai-siang by name Dpal-brtan. He obtained the treatise, fragmentary, in *ttāgūttaa*-language. But he wrote it with a supplement so that through him it became complete. For the translation he had, however, no comprehension and no ability.
- 7 He humbly presented this treatise to the Court. The gracious god (=king) of his favour himself ordered to translate this text from the *ttāgūttaa*-language completely, for the sake of future beings who would be ill.
- 8 As to such medicaments as were comprised in it, the Tai-śī, great physician, acquainted with this treatise, truly helped without grudging, excellent man; he brought it to completion in the month Rarūya.
- 9 Pure vows were undertaken under favour; they practise the treatment for the beings of a later time; at the time of treatment the physician with the invalid, the gracious god (=king), —by them there may I then be remembered.
- 10 By the truth of those Three Jewels through divine favour and moreover through faith, in both ways, may all ills cease from troubling. May they reach bodhi-enlightenment, as they desire.

To these verses the following comments will indicate how the translation has been achieved.

Verse 1

(1) The missing line may have held something like Jātakastava *devattai paravālā āysde yenāre* “may the deities, the protectors keep guard”. A list of these deities can be seen in *Khotanese Texts*, II, 54, 14.

(2) *aurga* corresponds in meaning to Avestan *barəjā* “with reverence”, frequent in the verb Khotan. *bulj-* “to honour”. Possibly in *orga* we have an instrumental singular from **ā-barg-* with suffix *-ka-* or *-ga-*.

(3) *āysda* is the Khotanese equivalent of Rigvedic *addhā* which refers to concealment, hence security. In Old Persian *azdā* refers to sureness of knowledge. The word *addhā* is discussed by D. S. Ruegg, *Journal asiatique*, 1955, 163ff. The base may be traced in Old Ind. *andhā-* “blind”, Avestan *anda-*, Khotan. *hana-*, Ormuṛi *hōnd*. The verb was then *andh-* : *adh* “to hide” as in *andha-kūpa-* “a hidden well”. Other cases of final Khotanese *-a* are in *vaska*, *uska*, *vaṣṭa*. A similar development from “sure” to “informed” occurs in Latin *certum* and *certiorem facere*.

(4) *Siddhasāra-śāstra* is the “technical treatise on the essence of the established medical system”.

Verse 3

(1) *hīdvām*, adj., “Indian”. The Iranian form of the name India is copiously attested from Old Pers. *hi(n)du-*, *hi(n)duya-*, Avestan *həndu-*, *hindu-*, Elam. *hinduš*, Heb. *hoddū*. In Khotanese occur *hiṃdvāa-*, *hiṃdvāna-*, later *hiṃdvānga katha* “Indian city”, *hīdva kṣīra* “India”, *hīdū* “an Indian”; *hiṃdvānāna hauna* “in Indian language”. Sogdian shows (Bud.) *'yntk'w*, *'yntkwot*, *'yntwksny*, (Chr.) *yntwq'nty*; whence Uigur Turkish *'n'tk'k*, *'ntk'k*, *'ntk'*, and Mongol *indu*, *hindu*, *hindkeg*. In western Iranian occur Zor. Pahl. *hindūk*, *hindūkān*, Sasanian inscription Parth. *hnd*, *hndstn*, Pers. *hndy*. The Armenians adopted *hndik*, *hndakan*, and *hndouk*. In New Persian occurs *hindū*, *hindistān*, *hindūstān*, *hindī*. The Iranian form is known also in Chinese 天竺, 竺 to be taken as *hien-tu*, and in Hūan Tsang's Sanskritised form as **ien-d'ək-g'ia*, that is **induga-*. Within India the same Iranian form is found: Jaina Sanskrit *hindūka-deśa-*, Jaina Prakrit *hiṃduga-deśa-*, Bud. Sanskrit *indu-deśa-* and Khotan Sanskrit *hīdūka-deśa-*. From Kuci is quoted *yentu kem-ne* “in India”.

(2) *pvīsta-* renders Tib. *g-yogs-pa* “covered”, beside it stand *pvīś-* “to cover” and *pvīys-* in *pvīysaka-* “a covering thing, wrap”. If these are from the one base, it is not yet clear how they are connected. Possibly there is here a base *pav-* : *pu-* “to cover”, found elsewhere in Old Ind. *pavāsta-*, Old Pers. *pavastā-* “envelope”, Zor. Pahl. *pōst*, Sanglēcī *pāsk* “covering, skin”, Munjāni *pūsto* “tree bark”, with suffix as in Zor. Pahl. *tapast* “carpet”, Khotan. *karasta-* “covering, skin”. Hittite has a trace of this same base *pav-* in *puwaliya-* “piece of clothing”, *putalliya-* “put on clothes”, *puwatti-* “colour”. Khotan. *pvecā-* which is something put on to a garment may also belong here. In *pvīsta-* the base would be enlarged on the type of Old

Ind. *śvetā-* “white” (from *ku-ei-t-*), or Old Eng. *drītan* (from *dhr-ei-d-*).

(3) *br̥rāṃbe* “former, early” has been discussed in *Asia Major*, N.S. ii, 43. The meaning is given by Vajr. 31 a 2 *br̥rūbi* “*paurvaka-*, former”; it belongs to *brū* “early”, Pašto *wṛumbai* “first”.

(4) Sanskrit *vyañjana-* “mark” occurs in connexion with literary style also in Jātaka-stava 2 r 1 *gūraphusta vyañjana śai vṛttā anvaṣṭa* “recondite style, also difficult metre”.

(5) *dasta berā* “to be taken as object of study” is conjectural. In P 2787.35 (quoted *Asia Major*, N.S. vii, 22) *dastana* seems to mean “information” with inst. sing. *-na*. A word *dastaura-* of uncertain meaning occurs in P 2739.31. In Hedin 26.7 *dastauraja*¹ is an adjective meaning “in documentary form”. The likely connexion is therefore Gathic Avestan *dąstvā-* “dogma”, and Zor. Pahl. *dastabar* “teacher”.

(6) *muhye* has been taken as a developed form, with *-e* like *mahe*, from *muhu*.

Verse 4

(1) *pūš-* “to read”, 3 plur. *pūšda* in Or 8212.162, 19 and infin. *pūštai* in P 5538 b 29. It will belong with the usual Iranian *pati-prs-* used in Old Pers. *patipṛsātiy*, Sogd. (Bud.) *ptβs-*, Sasanian inscription *patpursāt*.

(2) *sājaka* “object of study”, as *pvīysaka-* “covering thing” and *pajūka-* “a cover”.

(3) *daiṣṭa* is from Bud. Sanskrit *drṣṭa-* “seen; the present world”.

(4) *pastrīya-* “repressed, revolted” from the base *strang-* occurring also alone and with *ha-*.

(5) *hanaša* loc. sing. to **hanasa-* is also in P 4099.13 *hanaša ttsīda* “they vanish”. The verb occurs in *uvī vai hanišūndā* “wits are lost” to render Sanskrit *bhrama-* (*Siddhasāra* 107 v 3). The causative *hanāśš-* “destroy” occurs. The base is *nas-*, Old Ind. *naś-*.

Verse 5

(1) *yoga-mālā* is known as the title of a Sanskrit medical text. Here the compound is used more generally for “group of medical rules”.

(2) *śau-kṣīrā* “one country” in the sense of the “whole country”. The same occurs in P 2025.114 (*KBT*, 15) *śau-kṣīra satva* “beings of

¹ *Khotanese Texts*, IV, 141.

the whole land”. In Ch. c 001,845 *śau-gūttirā* refers to members of a whole family.

(3) *kr̥ra* is Sanskrit *kriyā-* “treatment” in medicine.

(4) Sanskrit *naya-* “policy, theory, system”, with *nīta-*, *neya-*, of inference or determination.

(5) *doṣa-* “basis” in the theory of three *doṣa-* bases of disease. Similarly *kāla-* “time” and *ṛtu-* “season” are discussed in the medical texts, as in *Siddhasāra* 3 r 4 ff.

(6) *pijsan-* “to apply”, with more concrete meaning in older *pajsan-* “to strike upon” as *pajsinde* “he beats” in E 6.86 *rrahamūna thonā pajsinde* “the washerman (masc. *-ā* stem) beats the clothes”.

Verse 6

(1) *tcai-syāṇi* is the Chinese *tsai-siang* “great minister”, in the T'ang period one of the most important posts, on which details are given in R. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires*, I, p. 4. It was earlier noted in *BSOAS*, x, 601.

(2) the name *paḍa ttanā* may be explained as Tibetan *Dpal-brtan*, in which *dpal* is “*śrī*, glory”, and *brtan* “firm”.

(3) *ttāgūttau*, below verse 7 *ttāgūtto*, is likely to mean “Tibetan”, although no bilingual has been found to prove it. The evidence is cited in *BSOAS*, x, 599–605.

(4) *samīše* is here taken as an adjectival form from Sanskrit *samasyā-* “combination, supplementation”. As *rahāśaa-* “secret” is made from *rahāsa-* “a secret” derived from Sanskrit *rahasya-* by Prakrit changes, so here *samasya-ka-* has been changed to *samīśaa-* with the Khotanese change of *-a-* by *-y-*umlaut to *-ī-* (familiar for example in *dīšta* “in the hand” from **dastay-ā*). Earlier the passage was not clear (see *BSOAS*, x, 601).

Verse 7

(1) *miṣḍi* “gracious” is used of royalty, connected with Avestan *mīžda-*, Zor. Pahl. *mīzd*, Ossetic Digoron *mīzd*. The oblique case occurs in Or 11344.7.1 *miṣḍāṇ gyastina* “from the gracious god (= king)”; for the vocative *māṣḍāna* is used.

Verse 8

(1) *pvīstyedā* has been taken as the participle *pvīsta-* with *-ya-* suffix and the 3rd person of “to be”. The *-edā* can be compared with Staël-Holstein 52 *hārvaiddā* “they grow”.

(2) *ttayi šī* will be a Chinese title. The same word occurs in P 2786.71 beside 69 *maista šī*, and in Ch. 00270 (*Khotanese Texts*,

II, 48) 6, 8; with the gen. plur. Ch. 00269.115 *ttayq-šāṃ*. In writing Chinese Khotanese *ś* and *ṣ* are not always kept distinct (as when Chin. *šan* "mountain" is written with both *ś* and *ṣ* in Khotanese). This *ttayi-šī* could therefore be identical with *ttaya-šī*, plur. *ttaiṣya* which renders Sanskrit *bhikṣu* "mendicant" (P 5538 b 1; 43). It was proposed to see here the Chinese 大師 K 952.893 *t'ai-ši* "great teacher".

(3) *mātsarā* is Sanskrit *mātsarya*- "jealousy, avarice".

(4) the month *rarūya*- is the second month of the summer season of two months. The calendar is treated in *BSOS*, viii, 930-3 in a comment on Siddhasāra 3 r 5 ff.

Verse 9

In *byāta ham*- "be remembered" we have a phrase to set beside *byāta yan*- "to remember" and *byāta* with *tsu*- "go" and *jsā* "go". The compound Stein E 1.33 b 3 *byāta-tāḍataru* is from **abiyāta-kṛtatara*-. The phrases *byāva jsāve* and *tsīdā* occur in Ch. ii 004, 2 r 1 (*KBT*, 144).

COUTUMES FUNÉRAIRES DE L'ARACHOSIE ANCIENNE

Par E. BENVENISTE

Le premier chapitre du Vidēvdāt présente successivement les provinces de l'Iran comme produites par une création d'Ahura Mazdāh aussitôt suivie par une contre-création d'Ahra Manyu. Chaque fois que le dieu suprême fait naître un pays et le dote d'un avantage, le principe adverse y introduit une calamité. Dans cette énumération, qui parcourt de l'Est à l'Ouest seize pays, l'Arachosie, c'est-à-dire la province actuelle de Qandahār en Afghanistan, occupe la dixième place, et fait l'objet du paragraphe suivant:

*dasəməm asəṃḥəmčə šōiθranəmčə vahištəm frāθwərəsəm azəm yō
ahurō mazdā haraxvaitīm srīrəm (ərəθwō.drafsəm) āat ahe pait-
yāram frākərəntat anrō mainyuš pouru.mahrkō aya anāpərəθa
šyaoθna yā nasu.spaya*

"Le dixième des lieux et des pays excellents que je créai, moi, Ahura Mazda, fut la belle Haraxvati. Añgra Mainyu, plein de mort, répondit en créant ce fléau : un crime inexpiable, l'inhumation des morts" (trad. Darmesteter).¹

Ce texte définit d'un mot le péché qu'Ahra Manyu a installé en Arachosie, c'est l'"inhumation des morts", *nasu-spaya*. Cette pratique est condamnée au nom des usages zoroastriens. A. Christensen commente clairement ce passage:

"Le fléau de l'Arachosie était le *nasuspaya*, l'enterrement des cadavres. Pour les zoroastriens l'exposition des cadavres sur le *daxma* était de rigueur. Plusieurs passages du Vendidad (3.41; 6.3) et un passage métrique du Yasna (65.8) font allusion au péché inexpiable de l'enterrement. . . . Le terme *nasuspaya*- est rendu correctement, dans le Vd. phl. et le Bd. ir., par *nasāy-*

¹ ZA. II, p. 12.

niyānīh. Ils professent une mauvaise religion, et cela (l'enterrement) est chez eux conforme à la loi, dit le Vd. phl.¹

Cette interprétation du texte du Vidēvdāt est celle de tous les traducteurs et commentateurs² de l'Avesta. Sur ce point il n'y a jamais eu variation depuis l'origine, puisque la version pehlevie rend *nasuspaya-* par *nasā-nikānīh*. Dans les études sur les religions iraniennes, le présent passage se trouve cité parmi ceux qui mentionnent la coutume non-zoroastrienne de l'inhumation.

Cependant, si général que soit l'accord sur le sens du texte et si bien fondées que semblent les conclusions qu'on en tire sur les coutumes et les croyances de l'Arachosie, nous devons mettre en question le point essentiel: *nasuspaya-* désigne-t-il l'"inhumation des morts"?

Il faut observer d'abord que pour certaines notions de grande importance dans la pratique ou dans les croyances, le vocabulaire de l'Avesta est relativement strict; il ne multiplie pas les expressions. Il y avait déjà un terme consacré pour dire "inhumer un mort", c'est *ni-kan-*, dont les exemples sont constants et se présentent justement dans le Vidēvdāt, quand il est question de la souillure causée par le contact des morts: *yō narš iririθušō . . . zəme kəhrpa nikainti* "celui qui enterre le corps d'un mort" Vd. III, 40; cette expression *zəme nikan-* "enfouir dans la terre" (un corps) revient plusieurs fois (ibid. III, 12, 36; VII, 47); *aēta vastra frača kərəntən niča kanayən* "qu'ils déchirent et enterrent ces vêtements (souillés par un mort)" (VII, 12). En pehlevi *nikan-* "enterrer" est constant, de même en moyen-perse *ngn-* "enterrer"³ et aussi hors de la tradition zoroastrienne, ossète *nīgaen-* "enterrer" (un mort).⁴ A priori la langue du rituel avestique n'avait pas besoin d'un deuxième terme pour cette notion, quand *nikan-* l'énonçait clairement.

On peut donc présumer que *nasuspaya-* ne dit pas la même chose que *nikan-* "enterrer". Que signifie-t-il alors? La question vaut aussi pour l'adjectif *nasuspā-*. Cela revient à se demander ce que signifie *-spā-*, *paya-* et la racine *spā-*. Le fait surprenant est qu'on doive en traiter

¹ Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes, 1943, p. 37.

² Depuis Justi, *Handb. der Zend-Sprache*, 1864, p. 170, jusqu'à Nyberg, *Religionen*, p. 319 et Christensen, *op. cit.*

³ Bailey, *JRAS*, 1934, p. 515; Henning, *BSOS*, IX, p. 85.

⁴ Cf. nos *Études sur la langue ossète*, 1959, p. 118. La question de arm. *nkan* "pain" a été discutée par R. Gauthiot, *MSL*, XIX, p. 129, et J. Harmatta, *Acta Orient. Hungar.*, III, 1953, p. 245 sq.

comme d'un problème, alors que le sens de *spā-* est connu. Nous nous contenterons de le rappeler à l'aide des principales formes lexicales.¹

Dans son sens matériel, av. *spā-* se traduira "jeter à terre, déposer sur le sol". Le présent simple n'a que des emplois métaphoriques: "rejeter" revient ici à "effacer, faire rémission (d'un délit)" dans Vd. III 40 sq. Mais avec préverbe le sens ressort clairement et ne varie pas: *apa-spā-* "rejeter (ses vêtements)"; *aipi-spā-* "jeter (de la bave)"; *avi-spā-* "rejeter (quelqu'un aux ténèbres)"; *upairi-spā-* "jeter une pièce sur une autre" (dispositif d'attelage);² *fra-spā-* "jeter à terre (un adversaire)". Les formes nominales prolongent en divers composés le même sens: *fraspā-yaowədra-* est parallèle à *niḍā.snaiθiš* comme qualification de Dainā Māzdayasni; la déesse est *niḍā.snaiθiš*, elle "dépose (=fait déposer) les armes"; de même *fraspā-yaowədra-* la montre "rejetant (=faisant rejeter) les préparatifs guerriers". Avec le même préfixe, *-spāt-* prend une acception tout autre; *fraspāt-* figure dans une énumération d'objets d'ameublement: entre *gātu-* "trône, siège" et *upastərəna-* "tapis", *fraspāt-* désigne une tenture "jetée à terre, déployée"; ce mot se retrouve dans sogd. man. *fsp'* (= *faspā* < *fraspā-*) "ἀπλωμα, tenture répandue",³ cf. aussi pers. *farasp* "tenture". On a enfin *pairi-spāti-*, litt. "fait de rejeter autour" (pour les impuretés corporelles, Vd. VI, 29); de *pari-spā-* provient mp. *parisp* "fossé circulaire".⁴

La même racine *spā-* a été retrouvée sous la forme phonétique prévisible dans vieux-perse *sā-*. Jusqu'ici nous la connaissons dans deux formes: *frāšahya* "a été jeté" et *niyasaya* (= *ni-aspayat*) "il a répandu".⁵ En moyen-iranien, le thème *ni-spaya-* est continué par m.parthe *nyspy-* *nysp't-* "mettre (le genou) en terre", cf. sogd. *'sp'tz'nwk-* "agenouillé".

Cette revue de données bien établies montre à l'évidence que *spā-* n'a jamais pu signifier "enfouir, enterrer". Le seul sens constaté partout est "jeter, déposer à terre". Il s'ensuit strictement que *nasuspaya-*, *nasuspā-* doit se traduire "qui dépose (ou jette) le cadavre".

¹ Nous ne jugeons pas utile de reproduire pour chaque forme avestique les exemples aisément accessibles et correctement traduits chez Bartholomae.

² Le sens est examiné chez I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, 1959, p. 275, où on trouvera les formes dialectales modernes probablement apparentées (*yidg. āwusp*, etc.).

³ Cf. Henning, *BSOAS*, XII, p. 314 sq.

⁴ "*parisp* eigentlich wohl 'Umwurf'" (Bartholomae, *Z. Air. Wb.*, p. 85, n.2).

⁵ Pour le détail de la démonstration, voir *BSL*, 47 (1951), p. 24-5.

Cette interprétation, qui rompt avec la tradition, peut d'abord surprendre; elle est la seule possible. L'étonnant est plutôt qu'on ne l'ait pas encore reconnue. Cela est si vrai que Bartholomae, tout en traduisant *nasuspā-* comme ses devanciers ("Leichen ein-, vergrabend, der die Sünde des Leichenvergrabens begeht"), marque en note un scrupule: "Et.? Bedeutet *nasu-spā-* vll. eig. 'Leichen hinwerfend'?" (*Air. Wb.* 1060). Il a bien vu que *nasu-spaya-* *-spā-* pouvait matériellement s'expliquer par *spā-* "jeter"; mais alors il fallait abandonner la traduction habituelle, car si on la garde, *nasuspā-* n'a plus d'étymologie connue. De là l'hésitation de Bartholomae: devait-il renoncer à une étymologie évidente ou changer sa traduction?

C'est la traduction de *nasuspaya-* qu'il faut changer. Pour achever de s'en convaincre, on lira la prescription de Vd. VI, 3 sq. qui est une sorte de définition du terme:

yezi mazdayasna tām zqm kārayen yezi āpō hərəzayən yaṭ ahmī spānasča narasča para.iriṭinti antarāt naēmāt yārə.drāṣō nasu-spaēm pasčaēta āstryānte aēte yōi mazdayasna apasča zəmasča urvarayāsča "Si des Mazdéens, sur une terre où hommes ou chiens sont morts, répandent des semences ou lâchent l'eau (d'irrigation) dans le délai d'un an, alors ces Mazdéens commettent le péché de *nasuspaya-* envers les eaux, la terre et les plantes".

Ainsi le fait d'ensemencer ou d'irriguer une terre sur laquelle sont morts hommes ou chiens est assimilé à un *nasuspaya* envers les eaux, la terre et les plantes. Le fondement de cette assimilation est le contact du corps mort avec les éléments qui se trouvent à la surface du sol, la terre même, les eaux, les graines, puisque le terrain en question est celui sur lequel ont reposé des cadavres. Tel était le péché du *nasuspaya*: cette pratique consistait à "jeter le mort sur le sol", ce qui, aux yeux des Mazdéens, souillait par contamination directe la terre, les eaux et les plantes à la fois, tandis que, dans l'inhumation, le corps ne touche que la terre. C'est pourquoi le *nasuspā-* est mis au rang des brigands, meurtriers, sorciers, etc. (Y.65.8); seule Dainā Māzdayasni peut accorder rémission d'un tel péché à celui qui fait profession de foi mazdéenne (Vd. III, 41).

Donc "jeter sur le sol", non "enfouir dans la terre", qui, on l'a vu, se dit *zəme nikan-*. La différence est capitale; elle correspond à deux pratiques funéraires distinctes. Celle de l'Arachosie, le *nasuspaya*, se définit ainsi par le sens littéral de l'expression. Mais ni le terme ni la coutume n'étaient connus des Mazdéens qui ont traduit

l'Avesta en pehlevi. Ceux-ci vivaient à une époque où les rites funéraires étaient codifiés; pour eux il y avait une pratique orthodoxe, l'exposition sur le *daxma*, et une coutume interdite, l'inhumation. Ils ont donc rendu *nasuspaya* par *nasā-nikānih*, "inhumation du corps", employant le même équivalent *nikan-* que pour traduire av. *nikan-* "inhumer" (p.ex. Vd. III, 36), sans tenir compte du terme différent. Il faut rétablir contre eux la traduction exacte de *nasuspaya* qui révèle en Arachosie un usage spécifique.

Cette donnée a pour nous la valeur d'un témoignage authentique sur une région dont nous ne savons presque rien à date ancienne, sinon qu'elle était de langue et de culture iranienne. Nous apprenons que l'Arachosie, dans le traitement accordé aux morts, ne s'accordait avec aucune des autres contrées de l'Iran ancien. La diversité des usages funéraires constitue, on le sait, un des problèmes les plus discutés sur ce domaine;¹ les trouvailles archéologiques sont ici souvent en conflit avec le témoignage des textes.² Suivant les régions de l'Iran, les époques et, semble-t-il, les conditions sociales, les rites ont varié de la crémation à l'inhumation ou à l'exposition sur les *daxmas*. On peut même saisir des contradictions sur ce point entre les parties de l'Avesta.³ Le tableau devient plus composite encore, si l'on y fait entrer le *nasuspaya* d'Arachosie. Cet usage, qui n'était attesté pour aucune autre province iranienne,⁴ a été observé aujourd'hui en maints pays, on le considère comme la manière la plus ancienne ou la plus "primitive" de disposer des corps;⁵ le mort est "jeté" sur le sol, et apparemment les os ne sont pas recueillis après la consommation des chairs. Ce devait être là pour un Mazdéen le péché inexpiable: que les ossements fussent abandonnés sur place, et non préservés dans un *astōdāna*. Il est difficile d'en rien conclure quant à la religion pratiquée en Arachosie. Des pratiques non mazdéennes sont mentionnées pour d'autres pays aussi dans la liste de Vd. I. Mais l'histoire des croyances et l'ethnographie de l'Iran ancien devront en tout cas enregistrer cette nouvelle définition du *nasuspaya* d'Arachosie.

¹ Voir notamment Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, p. 31 sq.

² Un cimetière de date probablement achéménide a été découvert en 1939 à Persépolis et décrit, avec un aperçu général du problème, par E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, 1957, p. 115 sq.

³ Cf. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

⁴ Sur les usages attribués aux Bactriens par Onesikritos selon Strabon XI, 11,3. cf. Henning, *Zoroaster*, 1951, p. 21 sq.

⁵ Il suffit de renvoyer ici à *ERE* (Hastings), IV, p. 420 b.

ON MITHRA IN THE MANICHAEAN PANTHEON

By MARY BOYCE

That a difference exists between the original form of Manichaeism and its developments in various lands was long since established by Schaefer, who regarded the local adaptations as part of Mani's deliberate attempt to be the "interpreter of religion" to all mankind.¹ Schaefer saw two purposes in Mani's identification of his gods with those of other faiths: to make his own teachings more readily comprehensible to different peoples, and to give fresh meaning to ancient beliefs, in which he held there to be a kernel of verity.² Mani, believing as he did that the prophets who were his forerunners had taught the truth, necessarily also thought that the gods whom they had preached were true gods, made known to diverse people under different names. The "translation" of the names of Manichaean gods by those of other deities must therefore be held an attempt by him to discover his own gods under their older, local guises. Mani's further belief, that all earlier religions had become corrupt, implies, however, that he also thought that the worship of their gods had grown uncertain and confused. Evidently it was for this reason that in some instances a single Manichaean god came to be identified with more than one deity in an alien cult. This fact had not yet been established when Schaefer made his study. Its workings tend, however, to disprove one of his main contentions, namely that such local adaptations were all part of a "bewusster und planmässiger Umstilisierung" carried through by the prophet himself.³ The freedom to "translate" in this way was plainly due to Mani's own initiative, but it evidently remained open also to his followers after him.

¹ H. H. Schaefer, *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, (1924-5), 128.

² *Ibid.*, 147, 115.

³ *Ibid.*, 146 (Schaefer envisaged here the likelihood that *minor* developments took place after Mani's death).

Schaefer further maintained that such local adaptations were purely superficial, and that although they had a proper basis and justification, they exerted no influence on Mani's original conceptions.¹ Clearly he was right in insisting that Mani's system as a whole remained intact, in all its logic and coherence; but was it in fact possible for his gods to be identified with powerful older deities, and yet to remain unaffected by their ancient cults? In this short article it is proposed to examine this question, in considering the local influence on Manichaeism of one god, the Iranian Mithra.

Mithra came to be identified with two Manichaean gods. Among the Sasanian Persians his name was used to render that of the Living Spirit. It was earlier suggested that the identifying factor in this case was the common function of demiurge, attested however for Mithra only in one Greek text.² One of the Sogdian names for the Living Spirit, "Lord of the Seven Climes",³ stresses the importance in Manichaean myth of this god's function as maker of the world. Nevertheless the evidence now supplied by the Coptic *Kephalaia* and *Psalm-Book* makes it probable that it was rather as a warrior-god and conqueror of the powers of evil that he was identified with Mithra. Mithra himself, as god of the Contract,⁴ was regarded as a defender of the truth, and hence a foe to treachery and to false gods. His many weapons rain down upon "the evil heads of evil gods" (*kaṃarāde paiti daēvanqm*),⁵ and his worshippers invoke him as the "head-smasher of evil gods" (*kaṃarādo.ḡanam daēvanqm*),⁶ the "engager of witches" (*hamaēstārem pairikanqm*),⁷ one "from whom the Fiendish Spirit, very deadly, recoils in fear . . . from whom all supernatural evil gods . . . recoil in fear" (*yahmaṭ hača fratarasaiti aṃrō mainyuš pouru.mahrkō . . . yahmaṭ hača fratarasanti vīspe mainyava daēva*).⁸ He

¹ *Ibid.*, 145-6.

² See Schaefer, *op. cit.* 104 n.; further W. B. Henning, in *Mir. Man.* i 177 n.3; *OLZ* 1934, 7 n.2; I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (1959), 210-12.

³ See Henning, "A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony", *BSOAS* XII 2 (1948), 314.

⁴ See most recently P. Thieme, *Mitra and Aryaman* (1957); Gershevitch, *op. cit.*, introduction.

⁵ *Mīhr Yašt* 129-33 (the citations from this *yašt* are here given in general in Gershevitch's translation).

⁶ MY. 26.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ MY. 97 (cf. 68, 93, 99, 134).

acquires the secondary aspect of a god of war, and is hailed as the "warrior endowed with strength of arm" (*bāzuš.aoʾanhəm raθaēštqm*).¹ In Manichaeism the Living Spirit was likewise a great warrior-god, who smote the demons, and slew great numbers of them, and fettered others. He was "[the beginning] of all warriors",² "the subduer of all the sons of the abyss".³ He "made war with them; he subdued their camps; he hurt their height".⁴ As Mithra overthrows the false ruler,⁵ so the Living Spirit attacked "the rebels of the world".⁶ He "fettered the tyrants of the earth, he took from them their kingdom... he caused them to be led away to the punishment... he wrest from them their power".⁷ In that he was the first conqueror of the demons, he is justly linked with Mithra, "the most victorious of the gods" (*vəṛəθra-ʾqstəmō yazatanqm*).⁸ Both are "the fetterers of untruth" (*ənṛtasya séttū*).⁹

Another secondary aspect of Mithra, that of sun-god, had come to be prominent in his cult by the Christian era; and plainly it would have been difficult to identify with him at this period a warrior-god unconnected with the sun.¹⁰ According to Manichaean doctrine, however, the Living Spirit both made the sun in the beginning, and occupied thereafter one of the three thrones within it.¹¹ The two gods had enough in common, therefore, to make a formal identification possible. It seems likely, however, that this identification was largely a paper one, for there were two obstacles to its being whole-heartedly accepted by converts. Firstly, the Living Spirit had his station in the west,¹² the quarter of the setting sun, whose going down brought the dreaded dark, and symbolized for the Manichaeans the end of the

¹ MY. 25 (cf. 140).

² *Kephalaia* 43³⁵.

³ *Psalm-Book* 2³⁻⁴.

⁴ *Ibid.* 212¹⁶⁻¹¹.

⁵ MY. 111.

⁶ *Psalm-Book* 212⁶⁻⁷.

⁷ *Ibid.* 212¹⁴⁻¹⁸.

⁸ MY. 98.

⁹ RV. 7.65.3a (see Thieme, *op. cit.* 52); on the ethical aspect of Mithra's attacks see Thieme, *op. cit.* 28, 51.

¹⁰ That the Sasanian Persians should have been alone in not worshipping Mithra under this aspect (see Gershevitch, *op. cit.*, p. 41) is hard to believe. As Gershevitch points out (*ibid.*, p. 38), the ancient association of the god with the sun led almost inevitably to his worship as a solar deity.

¹¹ See TM 291 (W.-L. i 49-50); *Keph.* 82³¹.

¹² See *Mir. Man.* i 177 n 3; W.-L. ii 546.

world.¹ It must have been hard, therefore, to identify him with Mithra, god of the dawn.² Secondly, his task as conqueror of demons was accomplished before the world began. He was not, like Mithra, a god intervening actively in the affairs of men, and did not, therefore, receive constant devotions. No hymns survive addressed to him.³

It was the gods of the Manichaean Third Creation, the redeemers, who gave present help to man; and it so happened that the first of these, the Third Messenger, had traits which gave him also strong claims to be recognized as the true Mithra. He too, like all the redeeming gods, was a warrior, a "battle-stirrer" (*razmyōz*), for ever fighting against evil. He too was linked with the sun; he had set it in motion, and he had the first throne within it. Moreover, the belief that he dwelt in the sun is given prominence in his worship, in Egypt as in Iran, whereas for the Living Spirit this is a secondary feature, barely recorded in the surviving texts. The Third Messenger was moreover assigned to the quarter of the east, of the rising sun.⁴ In his own *Psalm*, *Wazurgān Āfrīwan*, Mani invokes him as "Beautiful East!";⁵ and in a Middle Persian fragment he is hailed as the dawn: "The *morning-light and dawn is come, the radiant Light from the east. Imposingly the King has appeared, God Narisah" (*āmad *wazēh ud bāmdād, rōšn ispixt az hwarāsān. Būd paydāg sahēnehāh, šahriyār, yazd Narisah*).⁶ Further, he was constantly and daily concerned with human activities, and is invoked in many hymns.

The Third Messenger was, however, for good and apparent reasons, identified among the Sasanians with Nairyōsanha (Narisah, Narisaf), the Zoroastrian messenger-god. Both deities filled the part of envoy from God to man—the Manichaean Messenger as the first

¹ *Keph.* 165¹⁻¹⁵.

² On Mithra as god of the dawn see Gershevitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-2, 319-20.

³ The two hymns concerned with the god in the Coptic *Psalm-Book* 211-3 are not addressed to him; and the entry under Spiritus Vivens in Boyce, *A Catalogue of the Iran. MSS. in Man. Script in the German Turfan Collection*, p. 148, is a mistake. The hymn in question is addressed to sun and moon.

⁴ M 470 R 14-15 (*HR* ii 19), where he is given the descriptive appellation Rošnšahryazd, also used in Parthian (see *Mir. Man.* iii 883 n 8); M 583 I V 7-9 (W.-L. ii 546).

⁵ Publication in preparation; the relevant passage is given by Henning "Brāhman", *TPS* 1944, 112-3.

⁶ See *Mir. Man.* i 192 n 6. M 5260 (T II D 66) is a missing fragment, otherwise unrecorded; but in the light of Parthian parallels it is probable that the lines quoted are the opening words of an abecedarian hymn to the Third Messenger.

of the redeeming gods. The Third Messenger was further believed to have shown himself naked to the demons in the skies, so that it was in his image that mankind was made. This myth was of great importance in the Manichaean version of genesis, and the Coptic texts concerning the Third Messenger contain repeated references to it. A remotely similar myth was told of Nairyōsanha.¹ Moreover, the Commagene inscription, with its linking of Helios and Hermes, suggests a connection between an oriental messenger-god and the sun. The identification with Nairyōsanha thus covered three aspects of the Third Messenger, two of which, envoy and prototype of humanity, have no counterpart in Mithra.²

Nevertheless, the similarities between the Third Messenger and Mithra were evidently so strong that the Manichaean missionaries to Parthia felt that they could not be set aside. Accordingly, they³ abandoned the earlier identification of the Living Spirit with Mithra, and identified the Third Messenger with both Mithra and Nairyōsanha. Plainly they believed that among the Parthians the great Manichaean god was being confusedly worshipped as two deities. Later still, the Sogdians, who received Manichaeism from the Parthians, identified with Nairyōsanha the Manichaean "Second Messenger",⁴ the Friend of the Lights. Three reasons suggest themselves for this fresh identification. Firstly, it is probable that in Iranian minds there was a clear distinction between Mithra and Nairyōsanha, and a reluctance to confound them in one god.⁵ Secondly, the Manichaean Friend of the Lights was a minor divinity in the cult, as was Nairyōsanha (at least in orthodox Zoroastrianism). Thirdly—and chiefly, from the point of view of the present study—

¹ See F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme* 34, 61 ff.; *Mir. Man.* i 192 n.6; Gershevitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 205–6.

² The various attempts made since Cumont's (*op. cit.*, 63) to identify Mithra with Gayōmard have failed to carry general conviction.

³ It seems probable that the missionaries in question were Mar Ammo and his companions, Ammo being the father of the eastern church. It seems hardly justifiable to suppose that the new identification necessarily took place after Mani's death (Gershevitch, *op. cit.*, p. 40). It had, or should have had, no effect on Manichaean dogma; and the evidence suggests that the prophet was flexible in such matters, which must have been for him of minor importance.

⁴ *Chinese Hymnscroll* 125 a (W.-L. ii 486, 500). On the identification see W.-L. i 40 ff.; Henning, *OLZ* 1934, 6 ff.

⁵ Again, the various attempts made since Cumont's (*op. cit.*, 63 n.4) to establish an identification of Nairyōsanha with Mithra have failed to win general assent.

although the myth of the seduction of the Archontes had its proper place in Iranian renderings of the Manichaean scriptures, it is given little emphasis in the surviving Parthian hymns to the Third Messenger. In only one of these is there an unambiguous reference to it.¹ Otherwise it is indirectly evoked by allusions to the beauty of the god, the "fair shape" (*zabēn pādgrīb*),² the "lovely apparition" (**gōnyāg dīdan*),³ the "bright form" (*čīhrag rōšn*).⁴ The "radiance and beauty" (*bām ud agrāyī*)⁵ of the god's appearance in the sky is, however, the one aspect of the seduction-myth which blends readily with his worship as Mithra. These allusions, therefore, together with the general character of the hymns, suggest that among the Parthians the dominance of Mithra was such that his identification with the Third Messenger led to cultic emphasis on the Mithraic traits in the Manichaean god. This must have smoothed the way for the Sogdians to abandon the earlier identification with Nairyōsanha, the features which supported it having become subordinate in the imagination of worshippers.

Mithra's influence went further, however, than causing an emphasis on traits common to the two gods. It also brought about the transfer to the Third Messenger of functions peculiar to Mithra. The most striking result of this process is that the Third Messenger became a sun-god among the Parthians. Several pieces of evidence survive to show that he was not conceived as one originally. Firstly, although Mani ordained reverence for the sun, both as a symbol and "the gate of Life", he did not teach worship for it as a personal god.⁶ Its fashioning by the Living Spirit is recorded in the myth; with its walls and gates, dwellings and thrones,⁷ it, like the moon, formed a halting-place for souls on their journey back to Paradise, and a circling castle for the redeeming gods. Secondly, in Mani's own *Wazurgān Āfrīwān*, the words "Beautiful East" are the only surviving ones which in any way link the Third Messenger with the sun.

¹ M 737, 1–4 (*BSOAS* XIII 4, 1951, p. 915).

² M 32 V 8–9 (*HR* ii 64).

³ *Mir. Man.* iii n. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 30 (that a reference to the Third Messenger is here intended is not wholly certain).

⁵ *Mir. Man.* i, p. 183, line 6.

⁶ *Keph.* 158³¹; cf. *Mir. Man.* iii n. 32–3, and for further references *ibid.*, p. 887, n.5.

⁷ See M 98 R 11–17 (*HR* ii 37); *Mir. Man.* i, p. 178, lines 8–9.

Thirdly, there is the fact of the god's initial identification in Iran, not with the solar deity Mithra, but with Nairyōsaṃha. Fourthly, in the Coptic texts the Third Messenger is frequently invoked as living in the sun, but is given no solar attributes. The Coptic evidence appears more reliable than the Iranian for the original nature of this god, since among converts from Christianity there was no suitable deity with whom to identify him, and hence no ancient cult to influence his worship.

In the Coptic *Kephalaia* there is a whole discourse devoted to the sun.¹ Similar homiletic texts existed in Parthian, but fragments only survive. Strikingly, the closest extant Parthian parallels to the *Kephalaia* chapter come from hymns dedicated to the Third Messenger. In the *Kephalaia* discourse are set out the "seven benefactions" of the sun. These are physical or symbolic benefits conferred by the heavenly body in its orbit. Six of these seven benefactions are attributed to the Third Messenger in two unpublished Parthian hymns addressed to him.² Both hymns begin, like the Middle Persian one already cited, by hailing the Third Messenger as the dawn: "The Light is come, and near the dawn! Arise, brethren, give praise!" (*āgad rōšn ud nazd bāmdād, āxēzēd, brādarān, dahēd istāwīšn*);³ and "The Light is come, and near the Leader (*nazd wādāg*). Arise, brethren, give praise!"⁴ Then follow verses of praise and exhortation, in which the parallels to the Coptic text occur without any order. The first benefaction of the sun given in the *Kephalaia* is that "it opens the eyes of all men . . . it takes from them the blindness of Night".⁵ When the Third Messenger "has come to the world" (*ō šahr āgad*),⁶ men are urged: "*Abandon sleep, awake, behold the Light which is drawn near!" (*xwamr karēd *wigāmīft, abar wigrāsēd, wēnēd rōšn kē nazd āgad*).⁷ They declare: "We shall forget the dark Night" (*šab syāwag bawām frāmušt*).⁸ The sun's second benefaction is that it takes away, with the darkness, fear.⁹ The Messenger "takes away fear"

¹ *Keph.* LXV.

² Both in M 30 (publication in preparation, see Boyce, *Catalogue*).

³ M 30, 87–8.

⁴ M 30, 49–50.

⁵ *Keph.* 159^{19–21}.

⁶ M 30, 78.

⁷ M 30, 75–7.

⁸ M 30, 96–7.

⁹ *Keph.* 159^{22–27}.

(*tars izgīrwēd*).¹ Thirdly, at the sun's coming all men rise up from sleep.² When the Messenger, the Light, appears, then "spirits, souls and all creatures look upon him and arise from (their) fall" (*gyānān grīwān ud wišp dāmdādān pad hau wēnēd ud aš kafišn padrazēd*).³ Fourthly, the sun draws out the strength and savour of all trees and fruits and plants.⁴ This has no parallel in the surviving verses to the Third Messenger. Fifthly, when the sun shines "the evil snakes and the sharp-fanged beasts . . . run to hiding in their caves".⁵ When the Messenger appears "all the sons of Darkness hide" (*nigōzēd harwīn tārīg zādāg*);⁶ "all the demons, wild beasts and vermin are afraid, they depart afar off from him" (*harwīn yaxšān dadān ud dēwagān tirsēnd, aš hau dūr bēh abnamēnd*).⁷ Sixthly, the sun by its shining heals wounds and defeats black magic.⁸ The Messenger "gives health and joy to the world . . . and puts an end to pain" (*drōd ud rāmišn uxad ō šahr karēd . . . ud dard angāwēd*).⁹ Seventhly, the sun "displays and reveals to the world the sign of the glory of the Aeon of Light".¹⁰ With the coming of the Messenger "the sign of the lofty realm has become apparent, and all who have eyes, perceive" (*burz šahrdārīft nūšān paydāg, ud izwārēnd kē būd čašmwar*).¹¹

It appears from this comparison of texts that the sun-worshipping Iranians who came to accept Manichaeism found the doctrine of the sun as symbol and impersonal benefactor inadequate, and fused reverence for it with worship of the Messenger as dweller in the sun and in the east; whereas Coptic converts, with no predisposition to worship a personal sun-god, kept more strictly to Mani's original teachings.

In the Parthian hymns, where this development is most marked, the two strands of belief, orthodox and heterodox, are clearly visible.

¹ M 30, 111.

² *Keph.* 159^{28–30}.

³ M 30, 107–9.

⁴ *Keph.* 160^{1–3}.

⁵ *Keph.* 160^{4–6}.

⁶ M 30, 83; cf. *Mir. Man.* iii m 23–5 (which, in the light of M 30, is probably rather to be translated: "The sons of Darkness are conquered upon earth; the sons of Day, awakened, praise thee").

⁷ M 30, 112–4.

⁸ *Keph.* 160^{7–9}.

⁹ M 30, 110–11, 116.

¹⁰ *Keph.* 160^{10–11}.

¹¹ M 30, 105–6.

According to the one, the Third Messenger appears, as in the Coptic texts, as a god living in the sun, together with the Mother of Life, the Living Spirit, and the mighty "pearl-gathering" Fathers.¹ According to the other, he is the very sun itself, the "bright Lamp" (*lamtēr nisāg*),² the "Illuminer" (*rōšnāgar*),³ "the radiance and brightness of the world of seven climes" (*bām . . . ud nisāgīft če haft kišfar zambūdīg*).⁴ His light "shines in every land and region" (*tābēd pad harw šahr nd pādgoš*),⁵ and from him come "all the rays . . . in the whole world" (*harwīn fradāb . . . pad hamag zambūdīg*).⁶ Further, the zone of heaven is divided "according to (his) course" (*anwāy . . . čamag*),⁷ and he "passes on high through those six thresholds, he shines light upon earth through those twelve gates" (*až abar čamēd pad hawīn šuh āstānag, tābēd rōšn ō zamīg pad hawīn dwādes barān*).⁸ His course is "ever from the north to the east, from the east to the south, from the south to the west" (*čīd . . . až abāxtar ō hwarāsān, až hwarāsān ō nēmrož, ud až nēmrož ō hwarnīfrān*).⁹

There can be little doubt that the development by which the Third Messenger thus became a sun-god is to be attributed to his identification with Mithra as he was worshipped in the early centuries of the Christian era. In his own *yašt*, composed in about the fifth century B.C., Mithra is not presented as a sun-god, but only as a deity closely associated with the sun.¹⁰ Even so there are some natural coincidences with the Manichaean texts, Coptic and Iranian. Mithra too illumines the world each dawn, and he too by so doing baffles the workings of evil: "In the morning (he) brings into evidence the many shapes" (*paoiriš vaēīdiš sūrēm frādāiti*),¹¹ he comes forward "to cross the pleasure of the Falsehood-owning Fiendish Spirit"

¹ *Mir. Man.* iii n 21–3.

² M 32 R 5 (*HR* ii 62).

³ *Mir. Man.* iii o 6, 35, 55 (= φωσττήρ, used of the sun, *Keph.* 159⁸, 160¹⁶, 163¹⁷). The epithet *rōšnāgar* is also found of Mani himself, the "Illuminer" of the spiritual sphere (*Mir. Man.* iii g 193). Cf. the similar use of φωσττήρ in the Coptic texts, *passim*.

⁴ *Mir. Man.* iii o 7–9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, o 10–12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, m 12–14.

⁷ *Ibid.*, o 34–5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, o 36–40.

⁹ *Ibid.*, o 65–9.

¹⁰ See Gershevitch, *op. cit.*, intro. 35–40.

¹¹ MY. 142, cf. 13.

(*tarasča anrahe mainyēuš drvatō zaošq*).¹ He has the epithet "making plants grow" (*uxšyaṭ.urvarēm*).²

In addition to his function of sun-god, there are older aspects of Mithra, better attested in his *yašt*, which also had their influence on the Parthian cult of the Third Messenger. As the god of Contract, Mithra was ever-vigilant, speeding over the world by day and night³ to watch the true man and the traitor. He "flies" (*fravazaitē*),⁴ he is "fast among the fast" (*āsnqm āsuš*),⁵ "the swiftest of the gods, the fastest of the gods" (*yō θwaxšīštō yazatanqm, yō āsištō yazatanqm*).⁶ The Third Messenger likewise was very swift in his going. As the sun he "hastened with zeal" (*nīdfurd pad abrang*);⁷ but his "spirit-course" (*gyānēn čamag*) is described as "faster than thought, swifter than the wind blows, more hasty than the night at eve" (*tīragistar až parmānag, ragistar až wād wazēd, nīdfurdistar až šab pad šām*).⁸ This, although it accords with the ancient conception of Mithra, has no particular relevance to the character of the Manichaean god. The vigilant Mithra is further worshipped as having "a thousand perceptions" (*hazamra.yaoxštīm*),⁹ "ten thousand eyes" (*baēvarā.čāš-manām*).¹⁰ In Parthian the Third Messenger has become "the thousand-eyed" (*hazār-čāšm*)¹¹—a striking new attribute for the prototype of man.

As the guardian of Contract Mithra is hailed as the "temporal and religious judge of living beings" (*ahūm ratūmča gaēthanqm*).¹² The Third Messenger was not, according to Manichaean doctrine, a judge; and although the ready transference of epithets from one Manichaean god to another makes it feasible that he should borrow this function from Jesus, yet it is striking that it is only in the Parthian hymns that he is so invoked, and there repeatedly. In them he is called "the

¹ MY. 118.

² MY. 61.

³ See Gershevitch, *op. cit.*, intro. 31.

⁴ MY. 99.

⁵ MY. 65.

⁶ MY. 98.

⁷ *Mir. Man.* iii o 69–70.

⁸ *Ibid.*, o 12–16.

⁹ MY. 35, cf. 107.

¹⁰ MY. 7, cf. 91, 141.

¹¹ *Mir. Man.* iii n 19.

¹² MY. 92; cf. 79, and see Gershevitch, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

Leader, the Judge" (*wādāg, razwar*),¹ "the Shepherd, the Judge" (*gēhbān, razwar*),² "the Judge in earth and heaven" (*dādbar . . . pad zamīg ud asmān*).³ His course through the sky is "the course of the Judge" (*razwar čamag*).⁴ Moreover, he is twice hailed as being both "judge and witness" (*dādbar ud wigāh*).⁵ This has no parallel in the *Mihr Yašt* itself, but appears to spring naturally from the concept of Mithra as both enforcer of justice and "inspector and supervisor" of the world (*harətārəmča aiwyāxštārəmča*),⁶ the one who surveys "guilt and non-guilt" from his throne on high.⁷ It is not readily comprehensible in terms of Manichaean dogma.

There is thus little doubt that, had an Egyptian Manichaean been able to join in the Parthian invocations of the Third Messenger, he would have found himself worshipping a god transformed. Yet probably he would have been perplexed rather than immediately shocked by this heterodoxy; for despite alien traits, the god remained essentially Manichaean, one of the compassionate redeemers of the Light. Those characteristics of Mithra's which were not consonant with Mani's teachings—the god's fierceness towards erring men, his granting of material favours, his succour in physical war—failed to attach themselves to the Third Messenger. His functions of sun-god, vigilant watcher, and judge of truth harmonized readily with Manichaean doctrine, and their transference to the Third Messenger demanded little more than a "regrouping" of dogma (the expression is Schaefer's). The essence of Mani's teachings remained intact; but this local development shows that even he, the most literate of the prophets, could not wholly prevent distortion of his carefully-enshrined doctrine. It also shows the power of the Iranian Mithra, who thus set his bright and ancient stamp on the intruding Manichaean god.

¹ *Mir. Man.* iii n 38.

² *Ibid.*, m 50–1.

³ *Ibid.*, m 10–11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, o 24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, n 18, m 10–12.

⁶ MY. 103.

⁷ RV. 5.62.8 (Thieme, *op. cit.*, p. 69).

DIE ALTIRANISCHE VORFORM DES *VĀSPUHR*

Von WILHELM EILERS

In der Keilschrifturkunde BE X 15 aus Babylon vom ersten Jahre Darius' II. (= 423 v. Chr.) ist von Feldern die Rede (Z. 3f.) *šá līgi-ri-su-a-kar-ra-nu*¹ u *lūa-lik-ma-dak-ta šá bīt ū-ma-su-pi-it-ru-ū*² *šá ina āl qašti*³ u *ina muh-ḫi nār Nam-gar-Dūr-dEllil*. Diese Liegenschaften, an einem Kanalufer gelegen, sind zugewiesen oder gehören einer Gruppe von Leuten, die als *gi-ri-su-a-kar-ra-nu* und *a-lik-ma-dak-ta* bezeichnet werden,⁴ die ihrerseits wieder dem Hause oder Gebiete der *ū-ma-su-pi-it-ru-ū* in einer bestimmten Siedlung zugeteilt sind. Von diesen Gruppen sind die *gi-ri-su-a-kar-ra-nu* dem Worte nach eindeutig Iranier, wohl nach ihrem Berufe genannt, der sie als **girisva'kara* d.h. als "Macher" oder "Besorger" von etwas uns Unbekanntem bezeichnet.⁵ Die Endung *-ānu* ist der spätakkadische Plural, wie er auch in anderen iranischen Wörtern begegnet.⁶ Die Erklärung des Vordergliedes **girisva-* oder wie immer wir

¹ Julius Augapfel, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden aus der Regierungszeit Artaxerxes' I. und Darius' II.* (Wien 1917; = *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph.-Histor. Kl.* 59,3) p. 58 irrig *amēlumut-ru-su-a-tir-ra-nu*. Vgl. auch CAD V (1956) p. 89a.

² Augapfel a.a.O. liest dies *šá bīt Šam-ma-su-pi-it-ru-ū* und übersetzt: "des Hauses Šammasupitrū", hält das Wort also offenbar für einen mit dem semitischen Sonnengott Šamaš zusammengesetzten Mannesnamen, obwohl der Personenkeil davor fehlt.

³ Das wäre der ländliche Mittelpunkt des "Bogenlandes", unter Umständen als Ortsname *uruGIŠ.BAN* aufzufassen.

⁴ Ohne Erklärung G. Cardascia, *Les Archives des Murašû* (Paris 1951), p. 128¹.

⁵ Berufsamen auf *-kara* sind schon altiranisch häufig; vgl. für die neubabylonischen Tafeln Eilers, *Iranische Beamtenamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferung I* (1940), pp. 54⁵ und 77¹. In den neuveröffentlichten Urkunden aus Ägypten (s. Eilers in *Afo* 17, 1954–6, p. 333) finden sich der *hamāra'kara*, der *patikara'kara* und unklare *b d y k r n* (Plural ?). Weitere—allerdings nicht immer sicher zu deutende—Fälle liefern die elamischen Tafeln von Persepolis (bei G. G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, 1948, pp. 44, 45 u.ö.).

⁶ Beispiele bei Eilers, *Beamtenamen I*, p. 9¹.

die iranische Form ansetzen müssen, bereitet Schwierigkeiten, die hier nicht gelöst werden können.

Hingegen wäre es denkbar, dass das anderwärts unbekannte *a-lik ma-dak-ta* babylonisch wäre, etwa *ālik madakti* "einer, der zum Heerlager geht, der im Lager Dienst tut".¹ Ebenso liesse sich aber statt *lik* auch *taš* oder *ur* lesen, womit man zu einem iranischen **aurva*-*d/taṣta*- o.ä. gelangte, einem bisher unbekannten Berufsamen, in dessen Diskussion wir gleichfalls nicht einzutreten vermögen.²

Im dritten Worte hingegen, *ú-ma-su-pi-it-ru-ú*, vermute ich seit einiger Zeit den späteren Titel *vis-* oder *vāspuhr*, vertraut aus den Tagen der Arsakiden und Sassaniden, und zwar, wie zu erwarten, in altiranischer Gestalt.³ Im *Frahang-i-Pahlavik* entspricht das Ideogramm BL BYT' d.i. *bar-baitā* einem mittelpersischen *vispuhr* (Pazendlesung *vaspūr*). Der aramäische Terminus *bar baitā* ist in den Rechtsurkunden und Briefen von Elephantine und dem übrigen Ägypten mehrfach belegt.⁴ In gleicher Weise erscheint seit der Achämenidenzeit in den Keilschrifturkunden Mesopotamiens der

¹ Akkad. *ālikum* "gehend, Gänger; Bote" (vgl. W. von Soden, *Akkad. HWB*, 1959, p. 36a) nimmt leicht einen Genitiv zu sich wie in *ālik mahri/pāni* "Vorgänger"; auch *ālik ilkim* für "Lehnsmann" liesse sich denken. Das etwas rätselhafte *madaktu* (*man/ddaktu* u.ä.; Delitzsch, *HWB* 393f., Bezold, *Wb*, p. 187a), welches etwa "Station, Lager" bedeutet (Ortsname *Madaktu* in Elam), könnte also vielleicht damit verbunden werden.

² Etwa *a'rvā*- "schnell" (neben *a'rvant*- *AirWb* 200f.), mit *u*-Epenthese wie in den Namen Παρύσσας = *fPu-ru-šá-a-tu* u.ä. und **Pa'ru'hāta* "bene meritis" = *mPu-ru-ḥa-a-tu* u.ä. (*Beamtennamen* p. 14⁶ auf p. 15), zusammengesetzt mit dem etwa synonymen *taṣta*- (PPP von *tak*- "laufen, fließen, rennen" *AirWb* 624ff.), also "Schnellläufer, Eilbote", und dann vielleicht der iranische Ausdruck für ὄγγαρος, falls dieses selbst wirklich aramäisch sein sollte (vgl. babyl. *agrum* "Mietling"). Man vergleiche osset. *tayd* "schnell" und *vaitayd* "schnell, sogleich" bei Ws. Müller im Anhang zum *GlrPh* I, pp. 24, 94, 96; H. Hübschmann, *Etymologie und Lautlehre der ossetischen Sprache* (1887), p. 57f., Nr. 241. Das Zeichen *dag/ták* wäre dann hier für *taḥ* verwandt worden, ähnlich wie der Name des Königs Artaxerxes *Arta'xšāša* im Babylonischen häufig als *mAr-tak-šat-su* o. dgl. mit *tak* wiedergegeben wird. Spirantisches *h* statt *ḥ* findet sich in vielen Urkunden beim Namen des Xerxes *Xšayāršā*: *mAk-šī-ya-ar-šī* gegen *mḤi-šī'-ar-šī* (beide Schreibungen mit zahlreichen Varianten). Auch sonst ist *h* in aramäischer Weise zur Wiedergabe von *ḥ* beliebt, besonders im Elamischen.

³ Meine in *Afo* 17 (1954-6), p. 335 kurz ausgesprochene Ansicht ist inzwischen von G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century*³ (1957), p. 41¹ übernommen worden.

⁴ In den von G. R. Driver veröffentlichten aramäischen Urkunden (s. vorhergehende Anmerkung; Erstauflage 1954) führt *Aršāma* Ἀρσάμης diesen Titel (Nrr. 2,1; 3,1; 10,1).

mār bīti. Unter beiden Ausdrücken, dem aramäischen wie dem babylonischen, dürfen wir uns nun freilich nicht einen hochgestellten Perser, sondern den familiaris irgendeines babylonischen Herrn und Grundstückbesitzers vorstellen, welcher die Geschäfte seines Herrn als "Haussohn" besorgte und nach dem Vorbild iranischer Hofhaltungen diesen Titel führte. Im Avesta ist die Vorform von *vispuhr* als *vīsō puθra*- "Sippensohn" bezeugt. Der Ausdruck erinnert an den *ḫāne'pīsar* im Mittelalter, "den Sohn aus gutem Hause, den Jüngling von Stand". Dies ist also eine dritte Schattierung des beliebten Ausdrucks. Kein Zweifel, dass wir im Gegensatz zum gewöhnlichen *bar baitā* bzw. *mār bīti* in dem keilschriftlichen *ú-ma-su-pi-it-ru-ú* den iranischen Titel selbst vor uns haben, sei es im alten avestischen, sei es im späteren parthisch-sassanidischen Sinn. Man wird ihn auf einen oder mehrere hochgestellte Perser zu beziehen haben, die in der Gegend von Babylon Ländereien besaßen, wie wir auch aus antiken Quellen wissen;¹ und "Grundstück, Landbesitz" wird jedenfalls *bītu* wie auch sonst des öfteren hier bedeuten. Die Lesung des Wortes ist absolut sicher, da dies *bīt ú-ma-su-pi-it-ru-ú* noch einmal in Zeile 6 wiederkehrt und dort einen eigenen Verwalter hat: *mLa-ba-šī lūšak-nu šá bīt ú-ma-su-pi-it-ru-ú*.² Die von J. Augapfel in seinen *Babylonischen Rechtsurkunden aus der Regierungszeit Artaxerxes' I. und Darius' II.* (1917)³ p. 58 f. bereits vollständig umschriebene Urkunde ist insofern interessant, als die zum *bīt ú* gehörigen Grundstücke dem babylonischen Landbesitzer und Kapitalisten Ellil-šum-iddin, Sohn des Murašû, auf drei Jahre *a-na* PA.Ú *šarri* überlassen werden. Das ist eine Form der öffentlichen Abgabe, die sonst nicht begegnet; wie wir aus der Urkunde hören, sind davon für das erste Jahr bereits 6 Minen Silber als Abgabe *ina* PA.Ú *šarri* bezahlt worden.

Bemerkenswert sind die hohen Zeugen, die in *BE* X 15 erscheinen, darunter ein Sin-Kanal-Richter und zwei bzw. drei *vis-tara'bara* (*lūus-tar-ba-ri šá šarri*), von denen der erste einen ägyptischen Namen trägt (*mPa-da-ni-E-si*); siegelt nicht mit Rollsiegel, sondern mit Ring), der zweite babylonisch benannt ist (*mMar-duk*—ein Kurzname) und der dritte einen iranischen Namen führt:

¹ Vgl. *Beamtennamen* I, pp. 12 (bes. Anm. 7), 65f. u.ö.

² Augapfel a.a.O. spricht p. 59 von einem "Statthalter" und lässt in der Umschrift das Zeichen MA versehentlich weg.

³ Vgl. oben, p. 55 Anm. 1.

mBa-ga-ra-ap ^{luš-ta-ba-ri}¹ a. š. *mŪ-na-ad/t*, in der Siegelbeischrift *mBa-gi-ra-ap*. Das ist möglicherweise ein **Baga'rap(a)*- "dem Gotte dienend" oder "an Gott seine Stütze habend", je nachdem welchen Sprachgebrauch im Avesta wir der sonst unbekannten Wurzel zu Grunde legen (vgl. *AirWb* 1508).² Darnach richtet sich auch die eventuelle Einsetzung eines Kasusvokales (Genetiv, Dativ), der in *mBa-gi-* mit *i* (= *-āi*, *-ē* ? = *-ahya* ?) zu stecken scheint.³

Der Name des Vaters *mŪ-na-ad/t* könnte ganz gut **Vanata*- "Sieger" sein, thematische Ableitung von *vanant* "siegend",⁴ oder sonstwie Kurzform eines Namens mit *vanati-* f. "Sieg" bzw. eines mit *vanat-* beginnenden Kompositums des Types von jav. *vanat. pašana*- "die Schlacht gewinnend" (*AirWb* 1354f.).⁵

Der von uns gesuchte Titel des "Haussohnes" in seiner altiranischen Form ist aber noch durch eine ältere zweite Keilschrifturkunde gesichert: *BE* IX 101 aus Nippur vom 40. Jahre Artaxerxes' I. (425 v. Chr.), wo ein Grundstück, welches wie im Falle von *BE* X 15 am Namgar-Dūr-Ellil-Kanal liegt, verpachtet wird. Es ist ŠE.NUMUN šá bīt ū-ma-as-pi-it-ru-ú und gehört zum "Bogenland" (*bīt qašti*) des Murašû. Zwei Dienern des Ellil-šum-iddin (wohl eher des Vaters als des Sohnes von Murašû) hat Murašû das Land zur gärtnerischen

¹ Augapfel: *us-* statt *uš-*! Während wir im *luš-tar-ba(r)-ri* u.ä. den **vista-r(a/i)bara-* "Teppichleger" (arab. *farrāš*) vermuten (*Beamtennamen* I, p. 81ff.), ist der Titel des dritten Würdenträgers *luš-ta-ba-ri* noch immer unklar und einstweilen davon zu trennen (*Beamtennamen* I, p. 104ff.).

² Parth. *raf-* "s'élancer", *raf* "élan" und *rafāy* "assaillant" bei A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe* (1939), p. 56 scheidet ja wohl schon bedeutungsmässig aus. Auch das *ramf-* der Mannesnamen Πατιράμης und 'r m p y liegt fern (s. Verf. in *AfO* 17, 1954-6, p. 327¹⁸).

³ Zu beachten ist *mdNabū-ra-pa-*, in aramäischer Beischrift [N] b w r p ' , Personenname in der Achämenidenurkunde *BE* X 120: kaum iranische Zusammensetzung mit babylonischem Gott, sondern gewiss zu westsemit. *r p* ' "heilen" wie in hebr. *Rafā-'ēl* und akkad. *mdAdad-ra-pa-* / *a* bzw. *mdAd-du-ra-pa-* (die Belege bei K. L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, 1914, p. 10b). Neuerdings ist in den assyrischen Nimrud-Tafeln der jüdische Mannesname *mRa-pa-* -*Ia-u* "Yahwe hat geheilt" aufgetaucht (nach 684 v. Chr.; vgl. B. Parker in *Iraq* 16, 1954, pp. 29-51).

⁴ Bekannt ist der Fixsternname *Vanant-* im Avesta, dem der letzte Yašt (21) gewidmet ist, mp. *Vanand*; über ihn s. *AirWb* 1354, neuerlich Anton Scherer, *Gestirnnamen bei den indogermanischen Völkern* (1953), pp. 118, 158.

⁵ Hierher wohl auch der Name des Jazygenkönigs Βανάδοσπος (2. Jhdt. n. Chr.), den schon Ferd. Justi in seinem *Iranischen Namenbuch* (1895), p. 347a, als **Vanat.aspa* erklärt hat, worin ihm neuerlich L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste* (1955), pp. 83 und 224 folgt.

Aufbereitung¹ auf drei Jahre gegeben. Keine interessanten Zeugen.²

Hinsichtlich der Bedeutung des hier mit dem Zeichen *as* statt *su* geschriebenen Wortes *ū-ma-su/as-pi-it-ru-ú* lässt sich, wie auch bei den anderen Termini technici, den Urkunden nichts Wesentliches abgewinnen. Dass es sich um iranische Lehensgüter handelt, die das Haus des Babyloniers Murašû verwaltet, ist eindeutig. Zum Verständnis bleibt man also auf Lesung und etymologische Deutung des zweifellos iranischen Wortes angewiesen. Der Anlaut *ū-ma-* könnte natürlich auch etwa ein *huvā-* oder *hvā-* wiedergeben. Ebenso natürlich steht aber auch *ū-ma-* für einfaches *va-* oder *vā*.³ Man kann nun iranisch *vāsō* statt *vās* in die babylonische Schreibung hineinlesen; doch glaube ich, dass das *u*, welches im Zeichen *su* von *BE* X 15 steckt, eher ein vor *p* labial gefärbter Hilfsvokal ist, also keine grammatische Bedeutung hat. Die Gruppe *pi-it-ro* drückt ohne Schwierigkeit ein *piθro* aus, nicht anders als etwa der Gott *Miθra/i-* in den Personennamen der Keilschrifturkunden als *mMi-it-ra/ri-* oder *mMit-ra/ri-* geschrieben wird.⁴ Ein *vās(ō)piθro* entspricht freilich nur zum Teil unseren Erwartungen, die etwa auf das avestische *vīsō puθra* abzielen. Denn die uns entgegentretende Lautung lässt ja auch an *piθro* von *pitar-* "Vater" denken und ein **hvāpiθro* = εὐπάτωρ "von edlem Vater" rekonstruieren. Allein als Titel ist dergleichen nicht bezeugt, und so ganz ungewöhnlich mutet eine Umfärbung *puθro* > *piθro*, vor allem in fremdem Munde, doch nicht an. Dabei könnte der *i*-Vokal einmal auf eine der häufigen Verdünnungen *u* > *ū* > *i* zurückgehen, wie sie sich seit dem alten Orient besonders im Sumerischen und Elamischen und noch heutigen Tages im Irakarabischen und den iranischen Dialekten beobachten lassen, gerade auch in unserem Worte *puθra-*, welches in einer Reihe von Nordwestdialekten über *puhr/pūr* zu *pūr* und *pīr* geworden

¹ Text: *a-na* LÜ.NU.GIŠ.SAR-*ū-tū* d.i. *ana šākinūti* (so Ungnad für die altbabylonischen Stellen) oder mit Akkadisierung des sumerischen Wortes *ana nukarribūti* (nu = lú, GIŠ.SAR = kirī; vgl. Ū.A = *mu-ka-rib-bu* Delitzsch, *HWB* 465b).

² Vollständige Umschrift und Übersetzung bei Augapfel a.a.O. p. 76f.

³ Z.B. in *mŪ-ma-ah-ku* bzw. *mŪ-ma-kuš* = ap. *Vahau[ka]* Ὡχος; *Ū-mi-* für *vi-* oder *vahya-* in *mŪ-mi-ma-na-* = *Vivāna*, *mŪ-mi-iz-da-a-tū* = *Vahyaz-dāta*.

⁴ Zuletzt *mMit*(BE)-*ri-da-a-ta* = Μιθριδάτης, ein *lvrēš šarri* (> *sārīs* im Hebräischen des Alten Testaments) in UET IV 1 und 2 (Ur, Zeit Artaxerxes' II.).

ist.¹ Merkwürdigerweise ist für unser Wort tatsächlich schon im Mittelalter die Form mit *i* bezeugt: *vaspīr*.² Das ist natürlich eine verhältnismässig junge Entwicklung, die man nicht unmittelbar beiziehen darf. Andererseits könnte die *i*-Färbung auf Epenthese zurückgehen, wenn wir dem Worte eine entsprechende Endung geben, etwa *opuθriya-* oder *opuθri-*,³ so dass also ein *opuθro* mit umgelautetem *u* entstanden wäre. Eine solche Erweiterung hat vielleicht das Akkadische mit seiner Langschreibung *-pi-it-ru-ú* am Ende des Wortes ausdrücken wollen; es könnte aber ebenso auch ein akkadischer Maskulinplural auf *-ū* intendiert sein. Jedenfalls würde ich die Schwierigkeiten, die einer Interpretation von keilschriftlichem *-pi-it-ru-ú* als *-puθro* entgegenstehen, nicht für unüberwindlich halten.

Keine Bedenken sehe ich ferner gegen die Form *vās°* statt *vis*. Stehen sich doch im Mitteltiranischen die Formen *vāspuhr* und *vispuhr* gegenüber, deren Verhältnis H. H. Schaeder in seinem Artikel *Ein parthischer Titel im Sogdischen* in *BSOAS* 8 (1935–7)

¹ Beispiele für NW *pīr* < *pūr* < *pūr* (< *puhr*): *KPF* III/I, p. 34a (Chūn-sār), p. 88a (Maḥallāt), p. 212b (Semnān), denen ich aus eigenen Sammlungen weitere Belege beifügen kann.

² Volksetymologie *vas pīr* "sehr alt"—worüber H. H. Schaeder in *BSOAS* 8 (1935–7), p. 744².

³ Wörter auf *-(i)ya-* sind die gewöhnlichen der semitischen Nisbe (auf *-iy-*) entsprechenden Adjektivbildungen, wie sie in np. *-ī* (< mp. *-ik* < air. *-iya-ka-*) fortleben. Die Beziehungsadjektiva auf *-i-* hingegen (mit und ohne Vokalsteigerung) sind meist den Patronymica vorbehalten, abundierend im Altindischen, aber auch im Avesta mehrfach gut bezeugt. Aus der Eigennamensphäre beginnen sie mit Wörtern wie *āhūrī-* "ahurisch" und *māzdayasni-* "masdajasnisch" herauszutreten (eine Entwicklung, die entfernt der der semitischen Nisbe gleicht), und es ist nicht einzusehen, weshalb nicht auch ein Eigenschaftswort **vā(i)s'puθri-* zu einem **vis'puθra-* hätte gebildet werden sollen, das später substantiviert wurde. Aus semantischen Gründen kommt ein Adjektiv auf *-in* nicht in Frage, da diese Wörter ähnlich wie *-v/mant-* die Bedeutung "verschen mit, reich an" haben. Überdies sind Nomina auf *-in*, so häufig im Sanskrit, dem Altiranischen weniger geläufig. Immerhin finden sich aber im jüngeren Avesta die folgenden Adjektive als Beispiele:

fra(χ)šnīn- "providus, besorgt" (= ai. *praḡñīn-*) zu **fra'χšnā-* f. (*AirWb* 978)
myezdin- "mit Myazda versehen" zu *myazda-* m. "Opferspende" (*AirWb* 1192)

parənin- "gefedert, beflügelt" zu *parəna-* n. "Flügel, Feder" (*AirWb* 870) nebst

parənin- "mit einer Feder versehen" zu *parəna-* m/n. (*AirWb* 896)

saocāhin- "flammenversehen" zu *soacāh-* n. "Brand" (Wz. *saok-*; *AirWb* 1550)

sraošin- "gehorchend, gehorsam" zu *sraoša-* m. "Gehorsam" (*AirWb* 1637).

Auch Schaeder in dem bereits zitierten Aufsatz nimmt p. 748 als Grundlage der mitteltiranischen Formen **vāiθpuši* "Prinzensohn" an, doch wohl eben als **puši-*.

pp. 736–49 eigens untersucht hat. Es handelt sich bei *vās* um die Kürzung einer Vrddhi-Form, welche, auf *i* zurückgehend, ihr *āi* zu blossem *ā* reduziert, also von *vis* ein *vāis*, welches zu *vās* geworden ist, wie bereits Chr. Bartholomae gesehen hat.¹ Für den gleichen Vorgang im Altindischen hat M. Mayrhofer in *OLZ* 1956 Spp. 9–13 eine Reihe schöner Beispiele aus Wackernagels *Altindischer Grammatik* (II 2: *Die Nominalsuffixe*, 1954) beigebracht wie die Adjektiva *dāvika-* "vom Fluss *Dēvikā* stammend" (also *dāvika* statt **dāivika*) und *kāsika* neben *kaūsika* "seiden" zu *kōša* sowie *sāmsapā* als Ableitung des Baumnamens *śmśapā* "Dalbergia sisoo".²

Die Neigung *āi* zu *ā* zu vereinfachen, dürfte sich schon früh eingestellt haben, wenn wir die Wiedergaben altiranischer Wörter in der elamischen Keilschrift der Achämeniden recht interpretieren. Dort findet sich für den dritten Monat des achämenidischen Kalenders (Mai–Juni) der Name *Θāiγra'čī-*, ein Adjektiv, welches sich gut bäuerlich (und nomadisch) auf das Sammeln (np. *čdan*, Wz. *čī-*) von Knoblauch (air. **sigra-*, mp. *siγr*, np. *sīr*) bezieht,³ stets in der

¹ *WZKM* 25 (1911), pp. 251–4.

² Elam. [šš]še-iš-šā-ba-ut in der Susa-Bauinschrift Darius' I. (Scheil, *Délég. en Perse* 24, 1933, Taf. IV sowie p. 109 col. I, 29) = ap. *yakā* (> np. *ḡag/γ*) = babyl. ššMEZ.MÁ.KAN.NA d.i. *musuk(k)annu* oder "mēsu-Holz aus Makan". Vgl. W. Hinz in *JNES* 9 (1950), pp. 2, 6a; die richtige Bestimmung des Baum- und Holznamens wird I. Gershevitch in *BSOAS* 19 (1957), pp. 317–20 und 21 (1958), p. 174 verdankt. Die elamische Form *-ba-ut* könnte *bad* gelesen werden und auf einen indischen Wortausgang *-pada* deuten, soweit das Wort nicht überhaupt vorarisch ist. Die Form *śmśapā-* f. ist schon vedisch und hat, worüber mich M. Mayrhofer freundlicherweise unterrichtet, in den späteren Sprachen Indiens und des Orients überhaupt viele Nachfolger hervorgebracht.

³ So Christian Bartholomae *AirWb* Sp. 786 nach F. Justis Vorgang (*ZDMG* 51, 1897, p. 243). Die zunächst merkwürdig scheinende Annahme, dass die Knoblaucherte (es gibt auch *wilden* Knoblauch in Vorderasien) einem Monat den Namen gibt, liegt bei näherem Zusehen für den Iranier gar nicht so fern. Der Knoblauch ist ein ahurisches Gewächs und gleich der Zwiebel verehrungswürdig. Überdies hören wir von einem Feste, das noch in späterer Zeit am 14. Tage jedes Sonnenmonats unter dem Namen *sīr'sīr* mit Fleisch- und Knoblauch-Essen gefeiert wurde, wodurch man sich gegen böse Geister zu schützen meinte. Verfasser des *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* kommt unter dem Stichwort *Gōš*, d.i. der Engel, dem der 14. Monatstag heilig war (= *Gauš Tašan-* bzw. *Gauš Urvan-*), auf das Fest zu sprechen: فارسىان درين روز جشن کنند وعيد سازند وآن را سیر سور گویند ودرين روز سیر برادر پیاز خورند وگوشت را با گیاه وعلف پزند نه با چوب وهیزم وگویند این باعث امان یافتن از مس ولامسه جن است وبدان دواى امراضى کنند که منسوب بجن است ودرين روز نیک است فرزند بمکتب دادن وپیشه آموختن

Continued on page 62

Lautung *sākro* bzw. *sāgro* für ap. *θāīyro*.¹ Dies sind die elamischen Schreibungen für *Θāīyra'ēi*:-²

Sa-ak-ri-ša

Sa-ak-ri-(iṣ-)ṣi-iš

Ša-ak-ri-iṣ-ṣi-iš (š hier=θ?)

Sa-a-ak-ri-iṣ-ṣi-iš (mit langem ā!)

Sa-aq-qa-ri-ṣi-iš

Sa-a-kur-ri-ṣi-iš (mit langem ā! die bei weitem häufigste Form)

Sa-kur (als starke Verkürzung oder fehlerhafte Auslassung).

Nur einmal ist *āi* bisher belegt, in

Sa-a-ik-ra-ṣi-iš,

wobei nicht einmal sicher steht, ob nicht vielleicht doch *sākro* intendiert gewesen ist. Schon der gewöhnliche (ungelängte) Diphthong *ai* kann im Elamischen als Lang-*ā* erscheinen, etwa in

da-a-ma (neben *da-a-ya-ma*)=*daiva* "Götze, Teufel"

und wohl auch in dem davon abgeleiteten

da-a-[ma-da-na-um]=*daiva'dāna* "Götzenstätte, Heidentempel", wie die *Daiva*-Inschrift des Xerxes aus Persepolis zeigt.³ Bemerkenswert ist der Name des Vaters des babylonischen Aufrührers in Behistun §16, welcher, wenn wir richtig lesen, ap. *Ainaira*, im Elamischen aber *Ḫa-a-na-a-ra* heisst (babyl. *mA-ni-ri*).⁴ Auch der

Auch als Gegengift war der Knoblauch beliebt, worauf Ibrāhīm Pūr-i-Dā'ūd in seinem *Hurmuzd'nāme* (Teheran 1331/1952), p. 109f. zu sprechen kommt. Über die volkscundliche Bedeutung des Knoblauchs und weitere Zusammenhänge habe ich, in bezug auf den Monatsnamen allerdings etwas abweichend, bereits in *Der alte Name des persischen Neujahrfestes* (1953), p. 42³ gehandelt.

¹ Die herkömmliche Lesung *Θāīgarēi* (so auch R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*², 1953, p. 187) entspricht nicht den elamischen Schreibungen, die zwischen *g/k* und *r* keinen Vokal zulassen; denn auch Silbenzeichen wie *-kur-* bezeichnen in der neu-elamischen Orthographie gerade gern die vokallöse Konsonantenverbindung. Richtig schon Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 45, Note 4.

² Nach Cameron a.a.O., pp. 44, 209b.

³ Vgl. Cameron a.a.O., p. 42; die elamische Version der Inschrift Persepolis h hat F. H. Weissbach in der *Koschaker-Festschrift* (= *Symbolae ad jura Orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae*; Leiden 1939), pp. 189-98, mit grossem Geschick ergänzt und vervollständigt, leider nur entgegen seinem eigenen Prinzip in einer bisweilen zu Irrtümern verleitenden Umschrift, da er das *da-a-ma* des Textes nach der altpersischen Aussprache als *da-di-wa* umschreiben zu müssen meint.

⁴ Sollte der merkwürdige Name, der im Gegensatz zum Namen des Sohnes *Nidintu-Bēl* so gar nicht babylonisch klingt, ein altiranisches *An'ariya* "Nicht-Arier" (möglicherweise volksetymologisch) spiegeln? Die Stelle wäre dann wohl zu *Aina[rya]hya* (Genitiv) zu ergänzen. Aber man sollte doch wenigstens **Anairahya* erwarten.

Monatsname *Ādukanaiša* ging nach der häufigen elamischen Schreibung *Ḫa-du-kān-na-iš* mindestens bei einem Teil der Sprechenden auf *-kanāš* aus, dem allerdings auch noch andere Schreibungen zur Seite stehen.¹ Für elamische Ohren scheint also nicht nur das altpersische *āi*, sondern bereits der Kurzdiphthong *ai* stark nach *ā* geklungen zu haben.² Für den Langdiphthong *āi* macht jedenfalls, wie wir glauben, Annahme eines schon früh möglichen Überganges zu *ā* keine Schwierigkeiten, so dass wir dem mitteliranischen *vāspuhr* unbedenklich schon einen altiranischen Vorfahren **vās'puθri* zubilligen dürfen, der sich in der Keilschriftschreibung *u-ma-as/su-pi-it-ru-u* der beiden neubabylonischen Urkunden aus der Achämenidenzeit erhalten hat, wie immer in Wirklichkeit Kompositionsfuge und Endung der iranischen Form beschaffen gewesen sein mögen.

¹ So *°kán-nu-iš*, *°kán-nu-ya(-iṣ)*, *°qa-nu* (Cameron a.a.O., p. 42).

² Einige Differenzen zwischen den altpersischen und elamisch-babylonischen Formen, die gewöhnlich grammatisch oder etymologisch erklärt werden, mögen sich auf diese phonetische Eigentümlichkeit zurückführen lassen. Hierher gehört vielleicht nicht der *a/i*-Wechsel, wie er uns in den Mannesnamen *Čiv'čixriš* und *Aspačana* entgegentritt. Aber folgende Fälle scheinen mir bemerkenswert:

Der ap. Stammesname *Ā'kaufāciya* ist *°fa(i)ciya* schon wegen babyl. *A-ku-pi-i-iš*, zumal auch sonst *-akya* > *-aičiya* > *-ēč/š* > *-iṣ* geworden ist (vgl. Eilers in *Archiv Orientalni* 52, 1954, pp. 268, 310f.).

Vielleicht drückt beim Namen des grossen Empfangstores von Persepolis (Xerxes Pers. a) das

elamische *Mi-iš-šā-da-a-ḫu-iš* eine *i*-Epenthese *°da(i)hyuṣ* (> mp/np. *dēh*) aus, obwohl die altpersische Form *Visa'da'hyuṣ* lautet (auch babyl. *U'-iṣ-pi-da-a'-i* mit Lang-*ā*!). In der *Daiva*-Inschrift des Xerxes (Pers. h) ist *dahyāuṣ* durch *da-a-ya-u-iš* wiedergegeben.

Auch dem

griechischen Ἀχαϊμένης stehen Lang-*ā*-Formen gegenüber ingestalt von ap. *Ḫaḫāmaniš* "von der Gesinnung eines Freundes", elam. *Ḫa-aq-qa-man-nu-iš* und babyl. *mA-ḫa-ma-ni-iš* (nebst den variierenden Wiedergaben des davon abgeleiteten altpersischen Eigenschaftswortes auf *-ya*), wobei *ḫaḫay*- dem heteroklitischen *sākhay*- "Freund" im Altindischen entspricht (*AirWb* 1744).

Der altiranische Mannesname *Kavāta* (mp. *Kavāt*, arabisiert mit Labialvokal *Qubād*) geht auf ein *kavdy-* ebenso zurück wie der Mannesname *Kavā'rasmān* in Yašt 13, 103 (so Bartholomae in *AirWb* 443f.), wobei *Kavā-ta-* nicht notwendigerweise haplogisch erklärt werden muss (Barth. a.a.O.: < **kavā'vāta-* "von den Kavis geliebt"), sondern unmittelbar als *kavā-ta* mit indogermanischem *-to-* angesehen werden kann (wie etwa **āpāta-* "bewässert" > mp. *āpāt* > np. *ābād*). Nach Bartholomae würden die Vorderglieder *ḫaḫā-* und *kavā-* den Nominativ singularis repräsentieren. (Doch s. H. W. Bailey, *TPS*, 1954, 146.) Unseres Erachtens ist der Wandel von *ai* zu *ā* ein rein phonetischer Vorgang, der sowohl vereinzelt vorkommt (hebr. *ān* "wo" < *ain*, *bāttīm* "Häuser" < *baitīm*) wie eine ganze Sprachschicht durchdringt (norddeutsch *ei*, sprich *ai*, > *ā* in *breit* > *brät*, Eilers > *Ahlers*).

NOTE ON AN UNKNOWN POEM OF HĀIDAR IN UIGHUR CHARACTERS

By T. GANDJEI

‘Alī-šēr Navā’i, states in the notice which he gives in the *Majālis an-nafā’is* on the Timurid Iskandar b. ‘Omar Šaix Mīrzā, the governor of Fārs and Iṣfahān (1409–14), that his court-poet was Maulāna Hāidar-i Turkī-gūy, and quotes a verse by this poet.¹ Manuscripts in both Uighur and Arabic script have come down to us of the work entitled *Maxzan al-asrār*,² which was written by a Chagatai poet named Hāidar for Iskandar, in the same metre as the homonymous work by Nizāmī, of which it is an imitation. Since we find the verse quoted by Navā’i in this work, there is no doubt that the Hāidar whom he mentions is the author of the *Maxzan*. Berezin was the first to publish some portions of this work,³ from a manuscript in Vienna⁴ in which the author’s name is not given. He gave the author as Navā’i. Later Gottwaldt published the entire work.⁵ This editor, although he did not give the author’s name, said in a note which he subsequently published⁶ that the Hāidar whose name was mentioned in the text of the work was the author. Pavet de Courteille, who was unaware of these publications, edited some portions of the *Maxzan* as an appendix to the *Mi’rāj-nāma*.⁷ In his view the author of the work, Hāidar, must be the Hāidar-i Majzūb whom Navā’i knew in his childhood.⁸ With

¹ Brit. Mus., Add. 7875, f. 107v.

² See p. 64, n. 1, 7; p. 65, n. 2–3.

³ *Chrestomathie Turque* (Kazan 1857), I, 273–87.

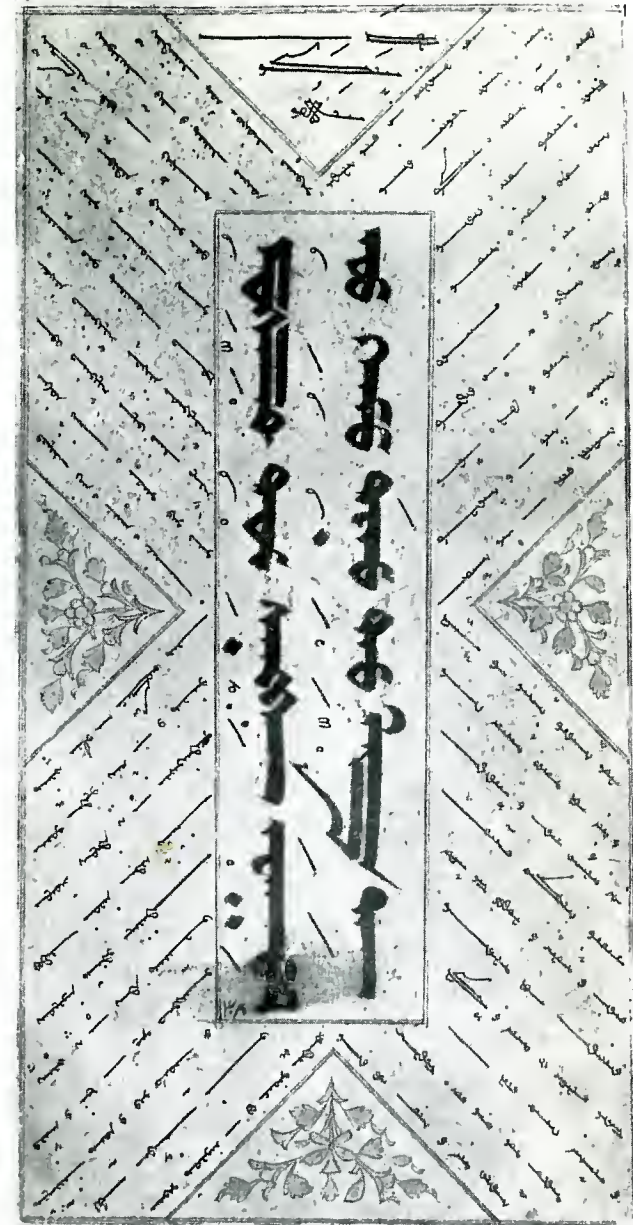
⁴ The Vienna Cat., I, 612.

⁵ Kazan 1858.

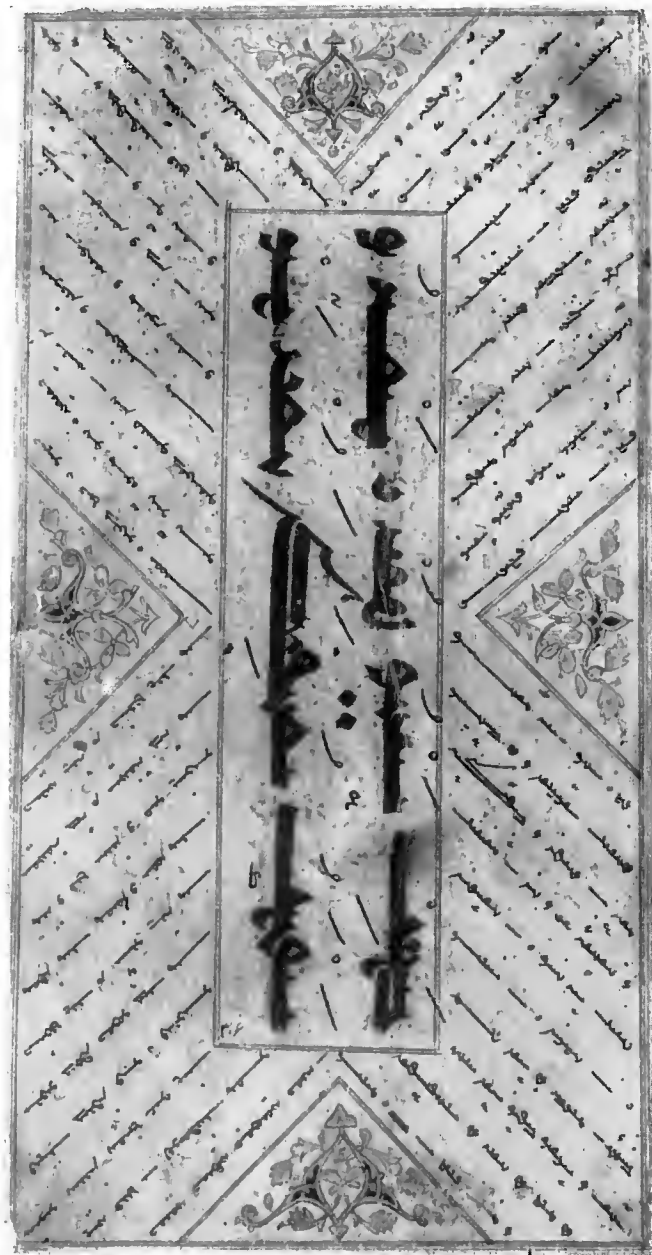
⁶ *ZDMG*, XIII, 1859, 503; XVII, 1863, 184.

⁷ Paris 1882, 63–95.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XXV sqq.; Pavet de Courteille on the basis of the word *mu’ammā’i* which occurs in the *Maxzan* puts forward the view that Hāidar was associated with Maulānā Muḥ. Mu’ammā’i mentioned in the *Majālis*, but he pays no attention to the context and meaning. Further, the correct variant of this word as found in the Brit. Mus. manuscript (Or. 3491, f. 25v) is *mu’ammāšī*.



An unknown poem of Hāidar



An unknown poem of Haidar



An unknown poem of Haidar

regard to this person, Navā'ī says¹ that he was a very strange man, although a man of learning; but he does not mention anything about his connexion with Iskandar or that he wrote Turkish poetry. As one of the two manuscripts of the *Maxzan* in the British Museum bears the title *Haidar-i Tilbānin Maṣnavisi*, Rieu² corroborated Pavet de Courteille's identification, taking into account the closeness in meaning between *tilbā* (crazy, mad) and *majzūb* (ecstatic dervish). This was accepted by Pertsch.³ Blochet was the first to point out that this identification was impossible from the historical point of view.⁴ F. Köprülü,⁵ for his part, while accepting the opinion of Blochet, put forward the idea that this poet is to be identified with Haidar Xvārazmī, who is mentioned by Navā'ī in the *Muḥākamat al-luḡatain* as one of his predecessors in writing Turkish verse.⁶ Although it is in fact now firmly established that this poet had no connexion with Haidar-i Majzūb, since the latter enjoyed a wide popularity,⁷ the word *tilbā-majzūb* was applied to him at a very early date, as in the case of the manuscript of the *Maxzan* dated 1509.⁸ In some manuscripts of the *Majālis*⁹ it was added by the copyists, but neither Navā'ī, in the *Majālis*, nor the compiler of the Chagatai dictionary called *Abuṣṣa* mention that Haidar was "Xvārazmī". The various editions of the *Muḥākamat al-luḡatain* which all agree on this point (i.e. Haidar(-i) Xvārazmī), rely wholly on the *editio princeps* of Quatremère. In my opinion a vāv is missing after the word Haidar—thus it should be emended to "Haidar <va> Xvārazmī"—and this Xvārazmī is without doubt the author of the *Muḥabbat-nāma*.¹⁰ The fact that Navā'ī does not mention Xvārazmī in the *Majālis* is possibly due to his lack of knowledge of the Turkish poets before him. Thus he knows nothing about Yūsuf Haṣṣ Ḥāḡib, the author of the *Qutadḡu Bilig*, and he treats the author of the '*Atabat al-ḥaqā'iq*' as some vague

¹ Brit. Mus., Add. 7875, f. 22v.

² *Cat. of the Turkish Mss.*, 286b.

³ The Berlin Cat., 432 sq.

⁴ *Cat. des mss. Turcs*, 11, 116.

⁵ *IA*, III, 290 sq.

⁶ Ed. Quatremère (Paris 1841), 33 sq.

⁷ Navā'ī mentions him once more in the *Nasā'im al-maḥabbat*, cf. *Documenta Islamica Inedita*, 238.

⁸ Brit. Mus., Add. 7914.

⁹ For example Brit. Mus., Add. 7875, f. 107v.

¹⁰ Ed. by T. Gandjei in *AIUON*, VI (1954-6); VII (1957); VIII (1958).

and legendary figure.¹ He even goes so far as to say that he has not come across any of the poems of Sakkākī, whom he praises in several places.² Taking this general lack of information into consideration, the fact that he does not deal with Ḥaidar and Xvārazmī seems to be deliberate. Thus if he had given a full account of these two poets, he would have contradicted not only himself, but also his patron Sulṭān Ḥusain. He relates at length that Sulṭān Ḥusain, who was himself a Turkish poet, was the first to encourage poets to write in Turkish.³ As for Sulṭān Ḥusain, he writes⁴ that no Turkish poems had been written up to his time and that Navā'ī was the first to accomplish this task. One thing is certain. The name of our poet, who lived at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, was Ḥaidar, as is evident from the text of his work.⁵ The designation "Turkī-gūy" which Navā'ī gave him is applied to the composers of a kind of song (*türki-qoşuq*) in a variant of the metre *ramal*.⁶

Although it is certain that Ḥaidar wrote *türkis*, nothing is known either about these *türkis*, or about the *qaşidas* and *ğazals* which we can with some confidence assume that he wrote. Now, surprisingly enough, we have come across a *qaşida* of Ḥaidar in praise of his patron Iskandar, written in Uighur characters and preserved in an anthology of Persian poetry.⁷

"*Muntaxabāt-i Aş'ār* (Imp. Library of Iran, Ms. 647), octavo size, measuring 265 × 150 mm. New morocco binding with decoration. The paper on which the text is written is the type of paper called *buxārā'ī*, and that of the margins is European. The folios are generally decorated in the margins. Some of them have floral decorations in gold and water-colour miniatures of a high degree of finish; in all there are 50 sheets, forming 369 pages, each of which contains on the average 18 verses. The manuscript contains examples of various

¹ *Documenta Islamica Inedita*, 227.

² *Maǧālīs*, Brit. Mus., Add. 7875, f. 42v; *Dīvan*, Brit. Mus., Or. 401, f. 4v.

³ *Muḥākamat al-luǧatāin*, ed. Quatremère, 35.

⁴ T. Gandjei, *Un scritto apologetico di Ḥusain Mīrzā*, in *AIUON*, V (1953), 171 sq.

⁵ Brit. Mus., Add. 7914, f. 121r, 124r, 141v.

⁶ *Kulliyāt-i Navā'ī*, Ms. of the RAS, f. 626r.

⁷ For the following description of the manuscript I am greatly indebted to Dr Mehdi Bayānī, Director of National Library, Teheran, who very kindly drew my attention to the existence of this fragment and most generously provided me with photocopies of it.

calligraphic hands such as *şuls*, *raiḥānī*, *nasx*, *riq'a*, *tauqī'* and *nasta'liq*; with three pages in Uighur script.¹ There is no date of copying and the name of the scribe is not given. It was evidently on the last folio, which has disappeared. In my view, the manuscript was written by Mīrzā Ja'far Tabrīzī-i-Baysungurī about the year 850 (ca. 1450) and it is very likely that such a fine calligraphic copy was made for an *amīr* or king. One folio at the end and some in the middle of the manuscript have been lost and careless repair and rebinding have disarranged the order of the folios. One of the leaves that are now missing must have been in Uighur script. The manuscript is a collection of the poems by 'Imādī, Amīr Xusrau, Xvājū, 'Irāqī, Ḥāfiẓ, Firdausī, 'Imād-i Faqīh, Sa'dī, Aṭṭār, Kamāl-i Xujandī, Bushāq, Kamāl ad-dīn Ṭālib, Ḥasan-i Dihlavī, Jalāl ad-dīn Rūmī, Qais 'Amirī, Salmān-i Sāvajī, Amīr Šāhī, Jalāl, Humām, Ibn 'Imād, Kātibī, Nizārī, Aḥadī and Šā'ini".

As we know, for some time during the reign of Šāhrux (1404-47) some literary and religious works in Turkish were written in Uighur script. Works such as the *Qutadǧu Bilig*, '*Atabat al-ḥaqā'iq*', *Mī'rāj-nāma*, *Tazkirat al-auliya*, *Baxtiyār-nāma*, and some of the poems of such poets as Sakkākī and Luṭfī were copied at Herāt, Samarkand and Yazd in the years 1432-42.² Clearly this was nothing but the survival of a tradition. The extreme inadequacy of this script, especially for works which are loaded with Arabic and Persian elements, plainly suggests that it was not destined for practical use. To overcome this inadequacy, in some works (including the poem we publish here) letters such as *h*, *ş*, *t*, *ğ*, *'*, *x* are sometimes indicated by the appropriate Arabic letters. Later a manuscript of the '*Atabat al-ḥaqā'iq*' which was written in Uighur script at Istanbul in 1480 far from the Timurid milieu, was provided with an interlinear transcription in the Arabic alphabet. Without doubt, Ḥaidar's poem has been included in the anthology with other kinds of script, as an example of calligraphy, and only for this reason.

¹ Each page contains 10 verses which are written *in margine*. In the middle of the pages there are two lines written with a thick nib. Two of them in the form of a hemistich, seem to belong to the poem:

musallam-tur saqa iqbāl u kām u dīn u daulatta
malā'ik 'arş u kursī lauḥ u aflāk ustād sözlär

and the third reads as follows:

bu madḥ u şanā ḥamd u du'alarñi kiḡ kündüz

² For a full account of these and other works and documents in Uighur script see my article *The Renaissance of the Uighur script*.

The poem is in the form and with all the characteristics of the classical *qaşıda*. After the usual opening (*nasīb*) it goes on, after two transition verses (*gurīz-gāh*), to the praise (*madh*) of Iskandar. Since the last folio is missing, the customary prayer (*du'ā*) found in *qaşıdas* is lost. The *qaşıda*, which is lavish in the use of Arabic and Persian words, is composed in an extremely elaborate style. Apart from the well-known rhetorical figures, the poet makes an excessive use of *laff u naşr*. In this poem, we encounter here and there traces of alliteration, which are used however, no longer as an essential element (as was the case in Turkish poetry uninfluenced by Islamic models), but only as a rhetorical figure.

Maulānā Haidar aytur

Hazaj : ◡ - - - / ◡ - - - / ◡ - - - / ◡ - - -

1. alur köqlümni bir dildār-i şūx-i şang-i sīmīn-bar
közi āhū sözi jādū miṛi hindū özi kāfar
2. saçı uçı ruxi ṭauri boyi zaini yüzi rangi
şab-i qadr u mah-i badr u sahī sarv u gül-i aḥmar
3. kirişmā şīva vu şakl u şamā'il birlā har sâ'at
alur şabr u qarār u aql u dīn ol türk-i gāratgar
4. nāčā qilgay jafā vu 'arbada jaur u sitam yā rab
vafā vu xulq u luṭf u marḥamat fannında ol dilbar
5. magar bilmāz ki dād u 'adl u iḥsān u karam birlā
tapib-tur yār üzā muṭlaq şafā-yi dīn u zīb u far
6. agar qoymasa bu jaur u 'itāb u küg <u> afgānni
qilayin dād u faryād u fiḡān u nālalar yaksar
7. şah-i şahzāda dānā'i sulaimān xatṭi alnında
bāduk noyan ādiz xāqān uluḡ sulṭān şah iskandar
8. irür adl u saxā vu dīn u dāniş icrā jaddi tāk
bilig kāni jihān jāni ajun xani hunar-parvar
9. nabī yaṇlig 'alī yaṇlig ḥasan yoṇluḡ ḥusain yoṇluḡ
şajā'at varṭasında ol ḥaqīqī sir ḥaqīqat sar
10. ču zain al-'ābidin u bāqir u şādiq bilā kāzim
zamīriṇ pāk u dīniṇ rāst şidqin tüz özün rahbar
11. riyāzī u badī'i u ṭabī'i u ilāhīni
zamīrin bikri ḥall u dark u kasb u <daxi> naşr āylār
12. muḥiṭi birlā iqlidus raşad ḥikmat fu <nū> nında
yaşar andişasiz zihniṇ zamīriṇ-tur tümān daftar
13. sāni 'ilm u 'amal faḡl u hunar birlā ögā bilgi
falīnas u araştū u buzurg-ummīd u bū ma'şar

14. du'ā pardāz u maddāḥ u qoşuqçı u sanā-xōniṇ
kārāk ḥassān yā şahbān yā salmān yā anvar
15. maṇa tigmāz bu ḥad kim vaşf u ḥamd u madḥ u na't aysam
bu til bu söz bu isti'dād u dāniş birlā ē dāvar
16. yürüş yortuş yügürüş yüksāliš birlā kumaitiṭtur
qamar sairān zuḥal jaulān bilig maidān parī farfar
17. čavirmāktā yügürmāktā yüngülliktā ağırliqta
tütün tāk tund u ot tāk tēz u fil āyīn u yār langar
18. uşuqluqta aşuqluqta yavaşliqta yāngilliktā
yalari yal magari ot yürüşü su taki sarsar
19. ni oqşasun viqār u mīknat u tamkīn u ḥukmuṇda
yüz alburz u tümān qāf u miṇ alvand u mahana sar
20. uluḡ alqāb u auşāf u du'ā vu midḥatiṇ birlā
muşarraḥ sikka vu xuṭba muzayyan masjīd u minbar
21. yürüşindiṇ turuşindiṇ yaraḡindiṇ yasalindiṇ
ažun darham jihān barham malak ḥairān falak muṣṭar
22. ḥasūd u mudda'i u duşman u bad-xōḥ yasalında
qoyar jaulān salur qalqan bolur bī-pā qalur bī-sar
23. süküṇnin nāvakiṇ tiriṇ xadangiṇ zarbina tōzmāz
tümān qat kičālār xōbda ziriḥ jauşan bilā bar dar
24. körüb gurziṇ qilijiṇ xančariṇ oqıṇ bilā sahmiṇ
ni tursun aždahā vu zinda pīl u gurg u şīr-i nar
25. sāniṇ raxşuṇ irür xōş par uruş sančış küni şaksiz
humāyūn fāl u farrux-baxt u daulat-yār u sa'd-axtar
26. irür 'ājiz saxā vu jūd u dād u 'adliṇ alniṇda
tālim ḥātam tümān jana basī xāqān öküş naukar
27. itālgüṇ qapqanıṇ sunqurniṇ lačiniṇ uç birlā
alur fil u yalar köşāk basar arslan tutar aždār
28. turumtay küykānāk qirḡu buḡuni tarbiyat qilsaṇ
'uqāb u karkas u barbaṭ qačirni izlāmāz avlar
29. oşol dam kim tōḡüş tolgaş uruş sančış küni bolsa
oquṇ gurzuṇ giličiriṇ xančariṇdin yār u kök titrār
30. sürāniṇ haibatıṇ ḥamlaṇ čapişirni körüb duşman
bolur ḥairān u sargardān u bī-sāmān u kör u kar

INDO-IRANIAN RŪ-, LŪ-, "TO PLUCK"¹

By BERNHARD GEIGER

It was Paul Horn who in his *Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie* (1893), "Nachträge", no. 628 bis, p. 258, sub *rūdan*, advanced two remarks which have contributed to a better understanding of the meanings and word formations of this verb. Of special importance was his reference to four words in passages of the Judaeo-Persian translation published in P. de Lagarde's *Persische Studien*.² These words are (1) Isaiah 15,2: *rēš rūdan* "tearing out (cutting off) beards" in connexion with making the heads bald; (2) Is. 18,2: *rūda*, part. pret. (whose hair was) "torn out"; (3) Is. 50,6: *rūnā-ān*, plur. of part. pres. "pulling out their hair" (from the faces: *MN rōy*); (4) Jerem. 16,6: *na rūd-āyad*³ "not (a beard) is pulled out", which is preceded by *na jārahāt kard-āyad ba-ēšān*, "nor baldness is made because of them", i.e. as an expression of mourning.

In his second remark Horn pointed to Kurdish *we-rūtīn*, "to pluck, pull out, cut off", with the present *ez we-di-ruš-im*, but he was puzzled by the *š* of this form, the final explanation of which I shall propose in a later continuation of the present article.⁴ As to the word *rūt* Horn states (against Justi) that this is "probably" not a Mod.-Persian, but a dialectal form. But this is evident already from the final letter *t*.⁵ However, Horn overlooked the Balūči verb *runag*,

¹ The present article is only an excerpt from an hitherto unpublished extensive paper which I had prepared some time ago for a meeting of the American Oriental Society. Unfortunately lack of space prevented me from including more of the pertinent Iranian material and forced me to omit the equally important Indic material.

² *Abhandl.d.Ges.d.Wiss. Goettingen*, vol. 31, 1884.

³ Cp. *Grundr.d.Iran.Phil.*, vol. I, part 2, p. 412.

⁴ Justi's explanation in *Jaba-Justi's Dictionnaire Kurde-Français*, p. 299, is unsatisfactory.

⁵ In *Grundriss d.Ir.Phil.I/2*, pp. 8 and 80 he still says that *rut* is "perhaps" a Kurdish loanword in ModPersian. But this doubt is contradicted by the long list of passages in which the word occurs in dialects always in the form *rūt* (*rūt*)

runag, "to reap", aor. *runūt*, pp. *ruta*, *ruθa*, Skt. *lū*, *lunāti*, which had been listed already by W. Geiger in his "Etymologie des Balūči",¹ p. 39, Nr. 321.

As the Judaeo-Persian, Kurdish and Balūči words had escaped Bartholomae's notice, he read in his "Etymologie und Wortbildung der indogerm. Sprachen" (Heidelberg 1919), pp. 39 ff., the letters *lww-*, which obviously represent *rūn-*, as *rōw-*, which he connected with the German "Raub, raufen", MidPers. *rōp*, "robbery" and *rubūdan*, "to rob". However, very soon he corrected this interpretation in a note to his treatise "Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten III", (Heidelberg 1920), p. 8, where he conceded that *rūn-* is the right reading. But he added the reservation that "nevertheless", in view of the Sogdian *rōpam*, *rōpē* (1. und 2. sing. pres.) which are the translations of the Greek word meaning "to reap" in Luke 19, 21 f., the assumption might be justified that the root *ru-* goes back to an original verbal "raufen", consisting of *r* and *u* followed by a final labial. This reservation is for obvious reasons unacceptable, especially in view of the fact that the meaning "to reap" is assigned also to the unextended root *ru-*, in Balūči *runag*,² probably also in *Waχī ru-* "to cut off, to reap, to weed"³ and Pashtō *lau*, "reaping, crop, harvest".⁴

The original meaning of the verb *rū-*, *lū-* is very distinctly preserved in two passages of the MidPersian text of Xusrav ī kavātān.

and with the meaning "naked". In a similar way the closely related word which mostly appears in the form *lukht* (*lūht*, *lūt*), but also *luhd*, *lo^ud*, with the meaning "naked", is not to be considered a genuine ModPersian word. Cp. the list in O. Mann-K. Hadank, *Kurd.-Pers. Forschungen*, Abt.III,Bd.1, p. 153. This is, furthermore, confirmed by the remark in Andreas-Christensen, *Iran. Dialekt-aufzeichnungen*, Berlin, 1939, p. 474: "*luxt*, nackt, Umgangssprachlich (i.e. colloquially) Np. *luxt*". But it cannot be denied that *rut* as well as *luxt* have been attested by some Persian lexicographers as occurring in Persian verses, though this is by no means decisive.

¹ *Abhandl.Bayr.Ak.d.Wiss.*, 1. Cl., Bd.XIX, Abth.1, München 1890.

² e.g. M. L. Dames, *Popular poetry of the Baloches*, London 1907, vol. I, p. 91: *phaushā ruḡaye*, "did you reap a harvest?" (transl. vol. II, p. 91).

³ Pres. *wa-rīnam*, etc., p.p. *-rut* (*rūt*): Cp. Tomaschek, *Centralasiat. Studien*, Sitzungsber. Wiener Ak.d.W., Phil-hist.Kl., Bd.XLVI, 1880, p. 867. Cp. now D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Wakhi Language*, 1958, vol. 2, p. 205, who attributes to this word the meanings "to pluck, esp. a fowl", and is of the opinion that the meaning "to weed" offered by R. B. Shaw is not justified.

⁴ Cp. e.g. Kalid-i Afghānī, p. 109, l. 2 from below: *lau ē pa kṣe vu-kar*, "reaping (harvest) by him was made".

H. W. Bailey has already proved¹ that in §26 of the text the word *rwt* (Ms. *rwtu*), which Unvala had wrongly interpreted as "trunk", is to be read *rūt*, "it was plucked". I found *rūt*, "it (sc. a kid) was plucked" also in §21 of the same text where Unvala offers the reading *rōt*, "the entrails". A few more radical corrections of wrong readings of the editor in this paragraph will be submitted on a later occasion. The same verb is used in a similar sense in the Iran. Bundahišn, p. 225, l. 5: *čēyōn mēš ka-š gurg pašm rūnēt* "like the ram when the wolf pulls out its wool". In the same text, p. 104, l. 11, we find the phrase *vars rūt*, "they pulled out (each other's) hair", said of the first pair of human beings who were beating each other very violently. The compound *vars-rūnišn*, "the pulling out of (somebody's) hair", appears in Māt.Hazār Dātistān II, p. 14, l. 16, in a list of physical injuries inflicted on persons in an assault. There is a similar long list of injuries (wounds) to be found in Dēnkart (Madan) II, p. 697, ll. 3 ff. (Sanjana, vol. XV, p. 42). However, here we find in the midst between abstract formations ending in *-išn* meaning "cutting, tearing, cleaving . . . piercing", etc., instead of *rūnišn*, the form *frāč-rūtak*, the participle of the preterite with the preposition *frāč*, which I would translate by "severely pulled (stripped) off". In a very similar context in Dēnk. Sanj., l.c., p. 44, where some of the verbs which in the passage mentioned just before, appear in the form of abstracts or of infinitives, the verbs are presented in the forms of the 3. sing. pret. pass., among them *rūt*, "he was stripped". In the edition of Madan, p. 698, l. 5, to letters of the word *rūt* the letters *mn* were added with the result that the correct word *rūt* became transformed into the Aramaic ideogram *LWTH*, Iranian *apāk*, "with", which is here out of place. Finally I wish to point to the passage in Dēnk. M., p. 728, l. 17 (=Sanj., vol. XVI, p. 6) which deals with the injuring of the bodies of birds and the pulling out of their feathers: *par(r)-rūnišn*.

From this survey of passages in which the original meaning of *rūt*- has proved certain beyond any doubt, we have to conclude that in the legal case of Māt.Hazār Dāt. I., p. 73, l. 9 the word *rūnēt* cannot have a meaning as far remote from the original meaning as the interpretation "to abduct, steal, rob" given by Bartholomae in favor of his previous reading *rōwēt* (see above, p. 71). I think that *rūnēt* must

have here a meaning related to that of the above-mentioned *frāč-rūtak*, "severely plucked (split)"—which we have found among words designating heavy injuries—, "to pluck with violence", figuratively for "to deflower", i.e. to pluck (split) the sign of virginity of a woman under full age (*apurnāyik*).¹

After we have paid special attention to some meanings of the word *rūtak* which are not easily understood, it is proper and necessary to discuss briefly a few peculiarities of the corresponding Arabic loanword *raudaq*. The dictionaries of Vullers and Steingass have thrown in one article all words which are written *rōd* or *rōda* into one pot. First of all the vocalization with the Majhul vowel *ō* (therefore *rōda* and *rōd*), which Vullers and the Arabic and Persian lexicographers assigned to the ModP. word from which the Arabic loanword is derived, is wrong. The result of it was that this *ō* was rendered in the Arabic form by *au*, as usual, cp. *mauzāf*, "the boot", MidP. *mōčak*, ModP. *mōza*, or *šauhar*, "jewel", MidP. and ModP. *gōhar*, etc. As the MidP. form of the word under discussion is undoubtedly *rūtak*—a form *rōtak* cannot be taken into consideration at all—, the correct vocalization of the Arabic loanword can only be *rūdaq*. Therefore A. A. Bevan was perfectly right when he chose, against the authority of the lexicographers and commentators, the vocalization with *ū* in the verse of the Arabic poet Al-Jarir against the poet al-Farazdaq, whose enemy he was. I am giving only my translation of the verse: "There is nothing good in the wrath of Al-Farazdaq, after they have flayed your neck in the way in which one flays the skin of the plucked (lamb or kid or bird)" (*salḫa ḡildi ar-rūdaqī*).²

Here we have to quote one more passage in which *rū-* is used in its original meaning.³ It is Šāyast-nē-šāyast (ed. J. C. Tavadia, Hamburg 1930), 4, 4, in which it is decided that a girdle made of

¹ Cp. e.g. Marathi *phoḍnem* and Gujarati *phoḍvum*, "to break open, to burst by violence, to pluck (birds), to deflower".

² Dīwān of Al-Jarir, ed. Cairo, 1313, part 2, p. 25, and The Naqā'id, ed. A. A. Bevan, vol. 2, p. 845, 10. My translation provides the real meaning of the word which is in contrast with the dictionaries and commentaries, but in perfect accordance with the MidP. *rūtak* from which it is derived. There does not exist any relationship whatsoever with the word *rōda*, MidP. *rōtik*, "intestines". G. S. Morgenstierne called in his article "Neupersisch *rūda* und Verwandtes" (Kuhn's Zeitschr., vol. 61, 1934, pp. 29ff.) the connection with the meaning "intestines" "hardly pleasing", but he did not get to a definite decision, because the MidP. *rūtak* was not yet known to him. The verse of Al-Jarir is quoted in the Arabic dictionary Tāǧ al-'Arūs under *rōdq*!

³ BSOS, IX, p. 233. Unvala read the word in the Glossary, no. 419, as *rōt*, which means only "intestines", never "belly, trunk".

leather is not good (from the point of religion), when the hair has been pulled (stripped) off from it (*mōδ hač-aš rūt ēstēt*).

In the Artāk Vīrāz Nāmak, 23, 12, we encounter instead of *rūt* the stronger word *XPRUNt*=Iranian *kand* in the sentence *u-š hān ī xvēš mōδ ut rēš hamē kand*, "and by him (the former sinner who is now tortured in hell with hunger and thirst) his own hair and beard was torn out all the time". The Kurdish verb *kandīn*, which is identical with MidP. *kandan*, appears in the phrase *pūr kandīn* for "to pluck fowl" (literally "the hair"),¹ in contrast to *par(r)-rūnišnīh*, "the plucking out of the feathers" (see above, p. 72).

In other derivatives from *rū-* the basic notion of the root is used in a wider sense in such a way that "the plucked one" is understood to mean "the naked". This is especially the case with the word *rūtak* in Artāk Vīrāz Nāmak, 17, 12, where the ugly incorporation of the evil *dēn* of the dead sinner is described as an ugly woman who is *rūtak* and *pūtak* ("rotten, i.e. stinking")—the other epithets which she receives are of no interest here. Haug and West have transcribed the first of the two words by *lūtak* and connected it with ModP. *lūt*, "naked, bare", which is however a dialectical (Kurdish) word (cp. above, p. 70, n. 5). It has now become evident that the correct reading of the word is *rūtak* and that its meaning "(stripped) naked" is firmly established. The Persian lexicographer Asadī explains in his *Luyat-i Furs* (ed. P. Horn, Berlin, 1894), fol. 10, the above (p. 70) mentioned word *rūt* correctly by *barahna va-tuhī*, "naked and empty". Salemann (Grundr. d. Iran. Phil., I/1, pp. 268 and 304) and Horn (*ibid.*, p. 28) have wrongly read *lūtak* (*lūdak*), which they connected incorrectly with *ālūdān*, "to pollute", and accordingly translated it by "dirty" ("schmutzig").

I am presenting here only one example of the meaning "bare" (*tuhī*) of the word *rut* (or *rūt*) by pointing to the compounds *ser-rūt* and *pai-rūt*, "bare-headed" and "bare-footed", respectively (Soane, l.c., p. 177). There are, besides that, words to be found which are related to *rut* and mean "barren", in the sense of "bald" or "beardless face", or "leafless branch", or "a plain without any vegetation". However, these and other characteristics of *rū-* and *lū-* and of related words in Iran and in India will be discussed on a later occasion. In

¹ Soane, Kurd. Grammar, p. 245. About *pūr*, "hair", *ibid.*, p. 214, and *Jaba-Justi*, l.c., p. 83.

conclusion I wish to add only a few remarks concerning the three words, (1) MidP. and ModP. *rēš*,¹ "beard" (BSogd.: Vess. J. 914 *ryš'k*), from *raēs*, "to spin" (i.e. to pull threads), (2) Skt. *paśman-*,² "eyelashes" (Avesta *paśna-* "eyelid", MidP. and ModP. *pašm*, "wool"); (3) *rōman-*,³ *loman-*, "hair". It is evident that the essential notion of these words is that they designate primarily threads or feathers which are the objects of plucking. From that we have to conclude that *rōman-* too is the expression for an object of plucking and that its hitherto unknown etymology is now definitely clear; that means that the word is a derivative of the verb *rū-* "to pluck".

¹ It means also the feather of a bird as well as the wool of a lamb and other animals, or threads of cotton or silk.

² Other meanings are the hair of a deer, the fiber of a flower, the feather of a bird.

³ It means also wool, feathers of a bird, fibers of cotton.

OUTDOOR TERMS IN IRANIAN

By ILYA GERSHEVITCH

The following communication, some of whose contents were presented in August 1960 to the XXVth International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow, is mainly based on new dialect material which I collected in Baškard in 1956.¹ By this humble tribute to a great scholar, patron of learning, and statesman, whom I was singularly privileged twenty years ago to count as one of my teachers in Persian, I wish to convey not only my deep esteem and admiration, but also a sense of personal gratitude in respect of the subject matter in hand. For without Mr. Taqizadeh's support in Teheran on the eve of my departure for Baškard, I could not have sampled the remarkable dialects which survive precariously in the rugged wilderness of one of the most beautifully desolate and isolated regions of Iran.

LAND

In what has been called the georgic chapter of the Avesta, viz. book III of the Vendidad,² it is said in §§ 4 and 23 that the most pleasant districts to live in, are those where man grows the largest amount of corn, grass, and fruit trees. This statement is followed by the double clause

(a) *yaŋ vā anāpəm āi āpəm kərənaoiti*

(b) *yaŋ vā āpəm āi anāpəm kərənaoiti.*

Bartholomae regarded line (b) as spurious, although all MSS have it in § 23, and only four omit it in § 4. Line (a) he translated "wo man

¹ New abbreviations here used are NBš for Northern Baškardī, SBš for Southern Baškardī, Bš for Baškardī (applied to features which the two dialect groups have in common), and Rdb for the dialects spoken in the region of Rūdbār, which lies to the north of Baškardī, and whose capital is Kahnūj. A preliminary report on the Bš dialects will be published shortly. A description of Baškardī has been printed in the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XLVI (1959), 213 sqq.

² F. A. Cannizzaro, *Il capitolo georgico dell'Avesta*, Messina, 1913.

zur Wüste hin Wasser schafft". His unusual interpretation of *kərənaoiti* rested on the assumption that the hapax *āi* was a preverb, although no such preverb is attested in any other IE language.

A more attractive rendering, which moreover takes into account both lines of the clause, was offered by W. Geiger: "where one makes dry land irrigated, and (where one makes) marsh-land dry".¹ Geldner's² and Darmesteter's³ translation was similar. The interpretation of *āpəm* as a thematic adj. meaning "soaked in water, wet"⁴ is in agreement with the Pahl. translation of *āpəm* as *āpōmand*. On the other hand, no explanation of the mysterious word *āi* has been offered in support of this translation, beyond Geldner's suggestion that it may be a corruption of *āya*, the fem. instr. sg. of the dem. pron. *a-*, referring to an implied substantive *zəmā* "earth, land", also in the instr. In fact, the reasonable rendering of the whole passage by the earlier translators almost forces upon the reader the impression that *āi* is a neuter substantive meaning "earth", "soil", or "land". As soon as the word is viewed in this light the archaic Greek αἶα "earth, land" presents itself as an obvious cognate, in which suffixation appears to have reduced a rare type of an IE neuter *i* stem to a familiar pattern.

In Iranian, too, a noun consisting of a mere diphthong could hardly be expected to survive unless its body had been extended by suffixation. The addition of the common suffix *-ka-* would give rise to a stem **āika-*, and since long diphthongs were apt to lose their second element in Middle Iranian,⁵ a ready etymology for Pers. *xāk* is found, on the assumption that the initial *x-* is prothetic as in *xāya*. *xāk* does not only mean "soil" and "dust", but also "Erdboden" (F. Wolff, *Glossar*);⁶ in parts of Baškardī *xāk* is used as the equivalent of Persian *zamīn* and Bal. *dighār*, in the sense of "ground on which one walks or sits".

¹ *Ostiranische Kultur*, 385.

² *KZ*, XXX, 522.

³ *Le Zend-Avesta*, II, 34.

⁴ For similar thematic adjectives cf. Av. *tamaṇha-* "dark", or Ved. *nabhasā* "misty, damp".

⁵ Cf. e.g. Pahl. *vāspuhrak*, Bartholomae, *WZKM*, XXV, 254 sqq., or Sogd. *ʾs-*, *GMS*, § 129.

⁶ Cf. *āfarīnanda-yi āb u xāk* "the Creator of water and earth", *Šāh Nāma* (Vullers), I, 371.872, or *z-in xāk čand ast tā čarx-i māh* "how far is it from this earth to the moon?", *ibid.*, 411.462.

With Pers. *xāk* Morgenstierne has connected Kurd. *āx*, NTS XII, 266, suggesting a derivation from **āhaka-*, and implying that Kurd. *-x* here represents an old *h*. The above considerations rather suggest that the *-x* of *āx* corresponds to the *-k* of *xāk*, either as an alternative suffix,¹ or as a secondary development of *-k*.²

The *i* of Av. *āi* has disappeared in *xāk* and *āx*, but an indirect trace of it may have been preserved in the *y* of the Sogdian word for "earth", *z'y*. This is to assume that *zāi* resulted from an early Sogdian contamination of the OIr. nom. sg. *zā(h)* of the stem *zam-*, with the nom. sg. *āi* of the stem *āi-*. One may recall that a comparable development may have taken place in Greek, where γαῖα "earth" is thought to be the result of a contamination of γᾱ and αῖα, cf. E. Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, I, 473.

SPADE

The Persian word for "spade", *bēl*, has been regarded as a case of imāla, as Persian dialects also have *bāl*.³ Other variants are MPers. *byr*,⁴ Kurd. *bēr*, Arm. *bah*, and Bal. *bard*,⁵ Gabri (etc.) *bard(a)*.⁶ These apparently conflicting forms have long been a puzzle, but they become less refractory in the light of the new SBš variants *bāhr*, *bohr*. Here we have a representative of the Middle Iranian form of which Arm. *bah* is a simplification.⁷ SBš *bahr* (of which *bāhr* and *bohr* are most probably secondary alterations) and Bal. *bard* entitle us to start from OIr. **badra-*, a thematic extension of a stem **badar-*; the formation of the latter would have a close parallel in Av. *vadar-* "weapon".⁸

¹ Comparable to the *-x* of Oss. *zæx* "earth", on which see H. W. Bailey, *TPS*, 1945, 13.

² *-x* instead of expected *-k* also occurs in Kurd. *berx*, *barx* "lamb", against Wx *würk*, or SBš *vark*. It is doubtful whether one may postulate intermediate arabicized forms **āq*, **barq*, to be compared with Ar. *kurbag* beside Pers. *kulba* and Arm. *krpak* (see A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die Fremdwörter*, 73 sq., and Henning, *Sogdica*, 55).

³ Cf. Horn, *Np. Et.*, 59, *GIP*, I², 33, and Söi *bāl* (Andreas, *Dialektzeichnungen*, 49), Abiāne'i, Semnāni *bāleh* (A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 424).

⁴ Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, 100, n.2.

⁵ Morgenstierne, *Acta Orientalia*, XX (1948), 288.

⁶ Ivanow, *The Gabri dialect*, 113 [*RSO*, XVIII, 7].

⁷ Cf. Arm. *kah* (Henning, *BSOAS*, X, 952, n. 5), *pah*, *zoh*, from **kahr*, **pah*, **zoh*.

⁸ In connection with the formation here presumed of OIr. **badra-*, one may also regard OPers. *vaθra-* as a thematization of a stem **vaθar-*. The latter would be related to **vaθa-* as Av. *vadar-* is to *vada-*. An OPers. stem **vaθa-*,

The metathesized form **bard*, which survived unchanged in Bal., was bound to become *bāl* in Persian, while the unthematic **badar-* would account for MPers. *byr* and Kurd. *bēr* as contractions of **bayar*. Pers. *bēl* will then be due to a contamination of *bēr* with *bāl*. Ultimately the reconstructed OIr. stem **badar-* can be assigned to the IE base **bhedh-*, which underlies Lat. *fodio* "to dig", etc.

CHANNEL

Two distinct meanings are attached to the Persian word *nāv*: (1) "boat", and (2) "canal, aqueduct".¹ In the dialect of Madaglašt in Chitral *nau* means an open pipe consisting of a hollowed-out tree-trunk,² and in Baškardia words going back to an older **nāvah*³ denote hollowed-out tree-trunks used for irrigation purposes. The modern Iranian evidence alone might be used as confirmation of the theory that the IE word for "ship", *nāu-*, originally meant a hollowed-out tree-trunk. This theory has hitherto largely rested on the fact that Norwecian *nu* means a trough consisting of such a trunk.⁴ The evidence is, however, not only modern Iranian, but can be traced back to the beginnings of Iranian literature.

The Avestan adj. *nāvaya-* means not only "navigable", like its Old Persian counterpart *nāviya-*,⁵ but is also applied to waters running in channels. The Pahlavi translators were well aware of the second meaning, which they rendered by *nāu-tāk* "running in channels", and glossed by another word for "channel", *kaθas*.⁶ The natural inference is that OIr. *nāu-*, like NPers. *nāv*, denoted two distinct contrivances: (1) a ship, and (2) a channel presumably

corresponding to Av. **vasa-*, can be postulated on the strength of Oss. *uæz* "axe", which Sir Harold Bailey has identified as a cognate of Ved. *vāś*, see *TPS*, 1952, 55 sq. This analysis of OPers. *vaθra-* lends support to the interpretation of OPers. *vaθrabara-* as meaning "battle-axe bearer", cf. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius Hystaspis*, 42, and A. T. Olmstead, *Hist. Pers. Emp.*, 218.

¹ For the second meaning cf. also Pš *nāwa* "gutter, tube".

² See D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Phonology of the Bakhtiari . . . dialects*, 204.

³ NBš *nox* (Bešnū), *nūg* (Darzeh). Thus also Rdb *navōk*.

⁴ Some additional support from western languages has been provided by J. Hubschmid, *Revue internat. d'onomastique*, IV (1952), 17–19, duly quoted by Pokorny in his *Idg. Wb.*, pp. 755 sq.

⁵ From "navigable" the meaning "deep" could develop, cf. W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, XII, 309.

⁶ On *kaθas* as an explanation of Av. *āpō nāvayā* v. Henning, *BSOS*, IX, 84, 91, and Herzfeld, *AMI*, II, 63 sq., VII, 103 n., *Ap. Inschr.* 224 n., 324 n.

consisting, at least originally, of one or more hollowed-out tree-trunks. Only by attributing to OIr. *nāu-* also the second meaning do we obtain a convincing reason why Av. *āpō nāvayā* is used in the sense of "channel waters".

Here also Pers *nāvdān* must be mentioned, which is usually translated as "gutter, spout", but in its Manūjānī form *nāudōn* again denotes a hollowed-out tree-trunk used as channel. The obvious derivation of this noun is from an OIr. compound **nāu-tānu-*, in which **tānu-* will be a side form of Ved. *sthānū* "tree-trunk". The literal meaning of the compound will have been "channel-trunk, tree-trunk used as channel".

GRASS

The word to be considered is in its Persian form *giyāh*, in MPers. *gy'w*, and in Bš *gīdā(h)*, *gīda*.¹ The Bš variant, which is common to both the northern and the southern dialect group, excludes the possibility, to which one might otherwise have given preference, of a derivation of Pers. *giyāh* from an OIr. word beginning with *vyā-*. To determine the origin of the *d* of Bš *gīdā(h)* it must be noted that both in NBš and SBš, *d* can only go back to an OIr. intervocalic *t* if the word concerned is a Pers. LW, which *gīdā(h)* evidently is not. In any case the ancestor of Pers. *giyāh* can hardly have had an internal *t*. The dental of the Bš word therefore continues an OIr. intervocalic *d* which became *y* in Persian. The survival of the intervocalic voiced dental is to be expected in NBš, but can be observed in SBš only where OIr. *d* followed an initial vowel that was lost before the mutation of *d* to *y* began to take place.² The existence of *gīdā(h)* in both dialect groups of Baškardi thus suggests that the word is a Baluči LW.

For guidance we shall turn to Makrani Baluči, as this is the variety of Baluči which is spoken in the immediate neighbourhood of Baškardia. Makr. Bal. has *mīd* "hair" from **mauda-*. If we apply the pattern of this development to *gīdā(h)* we obtain an OIr. word beginning with **gaudā°*, and since the MPers. form of our word has a final *-w*, we shall not hesitate to identify *gīdā(h)* with Av. *gaodāyu-*. In the one Avestic passage where *gaodāyu-* occurs it is used, like its

¹ Parachi *gihāi* derives according to Morgenstierne from Pers. *giyāh*, with reciprocal metathesis of *y* and *h*.

² Cf. SBš *dor* "udder" < **ūdar-*, against *dārāyén* "hail", to be discussed under the next heading.

synonym *gaoidya-*, as an adjective qualifying not grass, but the man who offers grass to cattle; Bartholomae translated both compounds, as well as the Gāthic *gaodāyah-*, by "looking after cattle". However, the base *dā(y)-* properly means "to nourish", and beside *gao-dāyah-* Avestan has the adj. *drāgu-dāyah-* which, as it refers to water, obviously means "nourisher of the poor". Accordingly, the proper meaning of *gao-dāyu-* was "cattle-nourisher", which is an appropriate enough definition of grass.

No phonetic difficulty prevents the assumption of an assimilation in Persian, by which in proclitic position the *ō* of **gō-yā°* (< **gō-yā°*) became *i*.

HAIL

Among the interesting words of SBš is *dārāyén*, with its variant *drā'én*, meaning "hail". It reflects an OPers. form **drādunī-*, which is directly comparable to Ved. *hrādunī* "hail". The Avestan form would be **zrādunī-*.

Once the existence in Iranian of this term for "hail" has been ascertained, it becomes difficult to believe that Sogd. *zyδn* "hail" does not go back to an older **zrādunī-*. The Sogdian word is spelled *zyδ[n]* in the Paris MS 14, line 10, in which *z* with a subscript dot stands for *ž*. The spelling therefore reflects a pronunciation *žēδn*, and proves that in certain circumstances the OIr. cluster *sr* became *ž* in Sogdian, just as OIr. *sr* became *š*.

In the case of the Yidya word for "hail", *žīlo*, a parallel for the change of *sr* to *ž* is to be found in *žōi* "lake", from OIr. *xrayah-*. Persian, too, has a word for "hail" beginning with *ž-*, *žāla*, but this has been said to have no connection with either the Sogdian or the Yidya word.¹ A connection cannot, however, be excluded, as *žāla* may have been borrowed from an Eastern Iranian variant of Sogd. *žēδn* in which no palatalization of *ā* had taken place.

The origin, and even the formation of Ved. *hrādunī* are not clear, but it is fair to analyse it as an extension by complex suffixation, of a base **hrād-*.² One may therefore also take into consideration the Av.

¹ E. Benveniste, *Textes Sogdiens*, 228²². For Pers. *žāla* an OIr. **jarda-* has been reconstructed, and compared with Lat. *gelidus* and Ved. *hrādunī* (on the assumption that its *h* represents an IE aspirate velar), cf. Horn, *GIP*, I², 92, and Morgenstierne, *Acta Orientalia*, I, 266.

² Cf. H. W. Bailey's analysis of Ved. *angošin* in *BSOAS*, XX, 52.

compound *zaraḍa-ynyāi*. A paraphrase of the difficult passage in which it occurs, *Vend.* i, 14, is given in *Gt. Bd.* 207,14.¹ There a reference to hail (*takarg*) is found at the place where one would expect a Pahl. equivalent of the Av. compound to appear.² It may therefore be suggested that *zaraḍa-* is written for **zraḍa-*, and the latter either really meant "hail", or was thought by the Pahlavi commentator to have had that meaning because it resembled an Av. word he knew as **zrādunī-*, whose existence would thus be indirectly attested.

OUTSIDE

The peculiar use of Iranian words meaning "outside" to denote nakedness has not yet attracted attention. In the Sogdian version of the Vessantara Jātaka the children of Sudāśan, reduced to slavery, are said to have been driven away *β'ypδt n'γ'r δβz' mwort'yt* (*Vj*, 1092 sq.), in E. Benveniste's translation 'sans pieds, incapables de marcher,³ morts de faim'. The interpretation of *β'ypδt* as "sans pieds", apart from being questionable semantically, meets with a phonological difficulty, in that it implies the identity of Sogd. *β'y-* with the Pers. privative prefix *bē-*. The two prefixes are irreconcilable, because Pers. *bē-*, and its MPers. antecedent *'by-*, represent an OIr. form with intervocalic *p* (cf. Arm. *ape-*), while in Sogdian an ancient intervocalic *p* never becomes *β*.

A simple alternative explanation of the Sogd. prefix *β'y-* consists in relating it to the Sogd. adverb *β()yk* "outside". That the latter is indeed a *k* extension of a MĪr. adverb *bē* "out, away",⁴ is shown by the existence of the unextended form in Pahl., where Bartholomae has identified it as a component of *bē-rōn* "outside", *bē-tom* (MPers.

¹ Cf. A. Christensen, *Le premier chapitre*, 42.

² Is Pahl. *snyhr tkr̥g* a corruption of **snyh-y tkr̥g* = *zaraḍa-ynyāi* = "hail-blow"?

³ Actually *n'γ'r* means "on an empty stomach", v. *GMS*, § 63. It may be noted incidentally, that in altering his earlier rendering of *prt'mch w'pt* in the Vessantara Jātaka from "tomba en avant" to "tomba évanouie" (*OLZ*, 1960, p. 9), M. Benveniste seems to have overlooked that this correction had already been proposed in *GMS*, pp. 248 sq. M. Benveniste's explanation of *prt'mch*, however, differs somewhat from the one I had envisaged. Moreover, his translation implies that *prt'mch* is exclusively a fem. adj.; if this were the case, one would infer that the word is an old *-aka-* stem. The subject of *w'pt* is, however, masc. in *Vj* 205, 1278, and 1308. It would appear that the *-ch* (*-cy*) of *prt'mch* (*prt'mcy*) has adverbial function, like the *-c* of *r'δc* "on the way".

⁴ H. W. Bailey, *BSOS*, VII, 73; IX, 1058.

by-dwm) "extremus",¹ and *bē-šahrīk* "outlandish".² With Sogd. *βyk* goes Pers. *bēg-āna*, Pahl. *bēk-ānak* "stranger", whose synonym *bēt-ānak* in the *Frahang-i Pahlavīk* shows the same *bē-* extended by *t*.³ The *t* extension is further attested in MPers. *bydn̄r* "outside",⁴ while an *n* extension is seen in Parth. *b'yn* "outer". A *č* suffix which may, but need not represent the OIr. enclitic *-čit*, appears in MPers. *byc*, Parth. *byc*, *byš* "but".⁵ Parth., moreover, has *byh* "outside".

According to the above interpretation of Sogd. *β'y-*, the literal meaning of *β'ypδ* is "whose feet are outside". That this amounts to saying "barefoot" is borne out by a Bš idiom which consists in defining any part of the body that is not clad as "being outside". Thus I recorded SBš *sar a-dār-īn* (*a*=Pers. *az*) "I am bare-headed (*lit.* I am with my head outside)", *pū a-dār-om* "we are barefoot"; NBš *sār-om ei-dar-i* (explained as "*sar-am bīrūn ast*"), *sār-om ei-dār būd*, *sār-et ei-dar-i* or simply *sār-et dar-i*, *ā sār-i ei-dar-e* ("*sar-eš bīrūn ast*"), *ā'ūn sār-šūn ei-dar-e* "I am, was, thou art, he is, they are, bare-headed" (*ei*=Pers. *az*; *-i*, *-e*= "is"); NBš *šōn-šōn ei-dar-a* (or *ei-dār būd*) "they were naked" (*šōn*= "body"). The addition of the suffix *-ī* has produced in NBš the adverbially used adjectives *pā-eidarī* "bare-foot" and *šōn-eidarī* "naked".

With a different word for "outside" the same result is achieved in Rūdbāri, where *pā'ōn-om ei-leid-en* (*lit.* "my feet are outside"), recorded from a Jūsi informant, means "I am barefoot". Here *leid* is the Rdb variant, also met with in the NBš dialects of Mār̄z and Kangarū, of Bš and Kermānī *lard* "*bīrūn*". The same idiom can now be seen to exist also in Baluči, where the hitherto unexplained compounds *sardari* "bare-headed" (Mayer) and *khīndar* "naked" (Dames, *Textbook*) literally mean "having one's head, respectively anus, outside".

To complete the information on the expression in Bš of the notion of nakedness, the compound *pā-xwawés* "bare-foot" may be quoted, which was noticed only in the SBš dialect of the district known as Gwafr. At first I felt sure that *-xwawés* harks back to the

¹ *Zum air. Wb.*, 50 n.

² *Mitteliranische Mundarten*, III, 34 n.

³ Cf. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, II, 35.

⁴ Cf. Henning, *ZII*, IX, 231³⁸, and Barr, *Pahl. Ps.*, s.v. *nyndly*.

⁵ Cf. Bartholomae, *Zum air. Wb.*, 51 n. In the Parth. version of the Great Inscr. of Šāpūr, line 16, *byc* means "except".

imaginative Av. epithet *xvā.aθra-* "barefoot", *lit.* "wearing one's own, natural footwear". For *θr* becoming *s* in SBš there are other examples, and *-ave-* seemed explainable as either from *-a-e* < *-ā-e-* < *-ā-au*,¹ with the original hiatus bridged by a glide, or from *-arve-* < *-awa-* < *-āwa-* < *-ā-au-*, with an exceptional metathesis of the type represented by Pš *rwaĵ* "day", which might have been favoured by the presence of *w* in the preceding syllable. On further consideration, however, I began to doubt whether *-xwawés* should not rather be derived from Av. *hvāvastra-* "naked", *lit.* "wearing one's own dress", which seemed to account more easily for the *-ve-* of the SBš word, and, moreover, would make it unnecessary to regard the *pā* of *pā-xwawés* as redundant. Fortunately Dr D. N. MacKenzie was able to provide the decisive evidence. In his unpublished list of Suleimaniya Kurdish words, which he had generously placed at my disposal, I noticed the adj. *pēxāwīs* "barefoot". Consulted on the doubt which beset me, Dr MacKenzie quoted from his collections not only Sul. and Mukri Kurd. *pē-xāw(u)s*, and NKurd. *pē-xwās*, but also Haurāmī *pā-wirwā* "barefoot"; *-wirwā*, he considers, can be derived from **wāur-* < **xwāu^hr-* < **xwāuθra-*, while Av. *hvāvastra-*, obviously, would not account for the Haurāmī form.

Thus the derivation of Gwafri *-xwawés* from *xvā.aθra-* is assured. It illustrates not only the occasional survival in special combinations, of once common OIr. words which later became almost extinct,² but also the unpredictable popularity of poetic expressions so daring, that their mere appearance in one or two Avestan passages would not have warranted the belief that they were commonly used even in Avestan.³

¹ SBš *e* < *au* is attested in *res* "sun; day".

² Apart from the words for "barefoot" quoted above, OIr. *aθra-* has been recognized only in Khwar. *'wš* "shoe", v. Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, 109, n.4.

³ The usual Av. word for "naked" is *mayna-*; cf. Pers. *pā-barahna* "barefoot", bearing in mind Henning's derivation of *barahna* from **bayna-* (v. *GMS*, § 362).

LA CIVILISATION ACHÉMÉNIDE ET L'URARTU

Par R. GHIRSHMAN

Qu'il me soit permis, en dédiant ces quelques lignes à Monsieur Taqizadeh, de parler d'une civilisation qui florissait, il y a trois mille ans, sur les terres qui ont vu naître ce vénérable savant? Car, si le royaume d'Urartu avait comme centre le lac de Van, le lac d'Urmiya, aujourd'hui lac de Rézayé, et les terres environnantes dont Tabriz entraient aussi dans la composition de cet État qui, pendant des siècles: du IX^e au VII^e siècles avant J.-C., égalait et dépassait même par moment, la puissance de l'Assyrie, sa voisine et adversaire.

En parlant des arts et de la civilisation achéménides, les manuels insistent sur leur caractère eclectique: le bas-relief, la colonne, la salle hypostyle, seraient imités de ceux de l'Assyrie, de l'Égypte, de la Grèce. Mais, les Perses et les Mèdes, ces premiers Iraniens qui aient pénétré sur le Plateau auquel ils donnèrent leur nom, connurent une autre civilisation étrangère, dans l'ambiance de laquelle ils durent vivre longtemps et qui laissa certainement beaucoup plus de traces dans la leur.

Si on peut parler d'influences qui marquèrent la naissante culture iranienne, c'est plutôt du côté de l'Urartu, dont les Iraniens durent subir, pendant un certain temps de leurs débuts, la suzeraineté, que doivent se diriger nos investigations.

Dès leurs premières installations, les Iraniens élèvent des terrasses pour y édifier les demeures fortifiées des chefs, et, plus tard, les palais de leurs princes. Des villes basses entourent ces terrasses. Cette conception d'urbanisme vient d'Urartu de même que l'emploi de la pierre qui entre dans la construction de la terrasse de Sialk qui date de la période proto-mède.¹ L'appareil cyclopéen de la terrasse de Masjid-i Solaiman² est conçu d'après celui que les Mèdes et les

¹ R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk*, vol. II, 1939, p. 24.

² R. Ghirshman, "Masjid-i Solaiman. Résidence des premiers Achéménides", *Syria*, XXVII (1950), pp. 205-20.

Perses durent apprendre chez les architectes urartiens. En effet, on connaît aujourd'hui les restes de plusieurs forteresses urartiennes dont l'appareillage est cyclopéen.¹ Le Plateau Iranien ignorait cet appareil avant l'arrivée des Iraniens, tout comme l'ignoraient les civilisations voisines de l'Iran autres que l'Urartu. La même observation est valable pour la taille particulière des blocs à bossage de la terrasse de Pasargade, qui ont été employés dans la construction du temple du dieu Haldis, à Toprak Kalé.² Ce changement dans la technique de l'appareillage des pierres chez les architectes achéménides, est intéressant à souligner, puisque l'abandon de l'appareil cyclopéen en faveur de blocs plus petits, est observé dans l'architecture urartienne plus récente.³ Enfin, en restant toujours dans le domaine de la technique architecturale, signalons que le dallage des palais de Cyrus le Grand, à Pasargade, est fait avec des dalles dont les couleurs blanches et noires alternent. Or, cette façon de traiter les sols des bâtiments royaux n'est connue que dans l'architecture urartienne.⁴

Les maisons de Touchpa, la capitale d'Urartu, comprenaient, d'après Moïse de Chorène, plusieurs étages;⁵ une plaque en bronze de Toprak Kalé, conservée au British Museum, doit en représenter une, et cette architecture si particulière pour l'ancien Orient, inspira certainement les constructeurs du temple, aujourd'hui en ruines, de Pasargade, et de sa copie qui fut élevée, probablement par Darius le Grand, à Naqsh-i Rostam: la Ka'ba-i Zardousht.

Les deux types de maisons urartiennes: les unes des régions chaudes, à cour centrale, d'autres des hautes vallées, au climat rude, à salle centrale remplaçant la cour et autour de laquelle se groupaient les autres pièces,⁶ ne seraient-ils pas à la base de l'architecture royale achéménide, le plan des secondes inspirant ceux des palais persépolitains?

Le rocher de Touchpa-Van est creusé en plusieurs endroits de pièces dans lesquelles on a fini par reconnaître, depuis Lehmann-

¹ C. A. Burney, "Urartian fortresses and towns in the Van region", *Anatolian Studies*, VII (1957), pp. 37-53.

B. B. Piotrovski, *Vannskoïe tsarstvo*, Moscou, 1959, p. 199.

² B. B. Piotrovski, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁵ K. L. Oganessian, *Karmir Blur*, IV, 1955, p. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Haupt, des tombes princières urartiennes.¹ Avec les Mèdes, cette pratique des tombes rupestres apparaît sur le Plateau où nous en connaissons quelques-unes de cette époque: Dukkan-i Daud, près de Sarpul-i Zohab; Fahrika, au sud du lac d'Urmiya, région qui entraînait dans la composition du royaume d'Urartu; Farhad u Shirin, près de Sehné, sur la route entre Kermanschah et Hamadan; la tombe scythomède de Kizkapan, dans le Kurdistan iraquien. En faisant tailler sa tombe dans le rocher de Naqsh-i Rostam, Darius le Grand ne fit que perpétuer la tradition transmise par les Mèdes et qui avait déjà été adoptée par un de ses prédécesseurs, peut-être Cambyse I, pour qui une tombe rupestre fut préparée à Dā ū Dukhtar, sur la route entre Masjid-i Sulaiman et Pasargade.

On connaît le rôle que jouait dans l'art iranien, à Sialk ou au Luristan, la représentation plastique des animaux sur les vases, et qui était le même sur les chaudrons d'Urartu. Encore plus frappant serait l'usage commun aux deux peuples des tenons ou des attaches en forme de "sirène". Les tenons en forme d'être mâle représenté en buste et doté d'ailes, qui semble protéger le liquide sacré que contient le vase du Luristan, expriment exactement la même idée que les tenons analogues que nous retrouvons sur les chaudrons d'Urartu.

Les principes d'urbanisme, les réalisations architecturales, les traditions funéraires ou les monuments figurés des arts ainsi que les techniques du travail du métal de la civilisation urartienne ne furent pas tout ce que celle-ci passa aux Iraniens. N'a-t-on pas reconnu dans la tradition rapportée par Hérodote (III. LXXXV) et selon laquelle Darius obtint la couronne et la royauté grâce à son écuyer et à son cheval, celle d'après laquelle le roi Rusa d'Urartu avait conquis son trône avec ses chevaux et son conducteur de char?²

L'Urartu fut le premier royaume de l'antiquité à introduire l'usage des inscriptions royales lapidaires bilingues, que nous retrouvons chez les Perses depuis Cyrus le Grand, qui sont le plus anciennement connues. Et nous terminerons notre aperçu de la *koïne* irano-urartienne en insistant sur le fait que même les traditions des chancelleries urartiennes furent suivies par celles des Perses. Car, ce n'est ni dans les textes babyloniens, ni dans ceux d'Assyrie ou d'Elam, mais seulement dans ceux d'Urartu qu'on divisait une inscription

¹ B. B. Piotrovski, *op. cit.*, p. 216 ss.

² F. W. König, *Älteste Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, Der Alte Orient, Band 33, Heft 3/4, Leipzig, 1934, p. 46.

royale en fractions dont chacune commençait par: "Parle le roi (un tel)", ce qu'on retrouve dans les inscriptions officielles des rois achéménides qui furent, peut-être, copiées sur celles des Mèdes.¹

Les liens culturels que nous avons tenté de faire ressortir comme un trait saillant et commun aux deux grandes civilisations de l'Asie occidentale ancienne, ne peuvent, à notre sens, n'être que le résultat de contacts occasionnels des deux voisins. Aussi bien l'éloignement territorial que le décalage chronologique des dates des deux royaumes, urartien et perse, s'y opposent. Au cours de l'existence de ces deux peuples il a dû y avoir une période bien plus ancienne où la culture d'Urartu devait dominer celle des Perses pour l'avoir marquée d'une pénétration aussi profonde. Cet état de choses, n'a pu, croyons-nous, se produire que du fait qu'un rapport étroit et continu a dû s'établir entre les deux peuples qui devaient vivre dans une dépendance assez étroite l'un de l'autre. Les sources historiques ne le contredisent pas quand elles révèlent qu'à la seconde moitié du IX^e siècle, Salmanasar III trouva les Perses déjà installés dans le pays de Parsua et les Mèdes plus à l'est, tous sur les terres proches du lac d'Urmiya. Or, c'est là que s'étendirent les conquêtes urartiennes grâce auxquelles ces deux peuples iraniens entrèrent dans le sein de ce royaume qui en engloba tant d'autres, aussi bien de l'Iran du nord-ouest que de la Transcaucasie et de la Syrie du nord. C'est là, en vassaux de l'Urartu, que les Iraniens ont dû puiser dans ce que cette brillante civilisation urartienne pouvait leur offrir pour façonner la leur qui passait encore du stade semi-nomade à celui de sédentaire.

Si la thèse est juste, elle entraîne vers un autre problème, celui du chemin que suivirent les Perses et les Mèdes avant de pénétrer sur le Plateau. Ce n'est pas par celui qui passe par les plaines de l'Oxus et de l'Yaxarte, ni par celui qui borde à l'est la mer Caspienne, que durent s'acheminer ces tribus iraniennes. On les verrait plutôt arriver de la Russie du sud et passer par le Caucase pour atteindre les terres du nord-ouest du Plateau et se fixer près du lac d'Urmiya, avant que les Perses, à la suite de conditions encore mal connues, ne poursuivent leur glissement vers le sud-ouest de l'Iran. Ni pour les Perses et les Mèdes, ni pour les Cimmériens et les Scythes qui suivirent la même route, les chaînes du Caucase ne dressèrent de barrière infranchissable.

¹ I. M. Diakonov, *Istoria Midii*, Moscou-Leningrad, 1956, p. 367.

PERSIAN POETICAL MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE TIME OF RŪDAKĪ

By W. B. HENNING

It may not be wholly inappropriate if in a volume dedicated to an eminent Persian scholar, whose contribution to the study of early Persian literature has been outstanding in range and quality, some account is given of certain manuscripts that, although insignificant in extent, full of gaps—one could almost say: consisting of gaps—and written in a non-Persian alphabet, have the great virtue of having been written at the very beginning of Persian literature, actually in the lifetime of Rūdākī himself. In a paper read to the XXIVth International Congress of Orientalists, Munich 1957, I described one of these manuscripts, a fragment of a Persian version of *Bilauhar u Būdisaf* (Barlaam and Josaphat); see *Akten des 24sten . . . Kongresses*, 305–7 (summary) and *Qadīmtarīn nusxe-yi šī'r-i fārsī*, Tehran 1337¹ (full text in Dr Yarshater's translation). This fragment is presented here (I) for the first time, together with a later-discovered piece of a Persian Qaṣīde (II), also from the great collection of Manichaean manuscripts in the Berlin Academy.²

Before laying the texts before the reader, it will be useful to describe briefly the orthography used in Manichaean Persian.³ It is both bizarre and erratic. The scribes, accustomed to writing Middle Persian (and Parthian and Sogdian as well), applied the old familiar spellings also to Persian words, however much their forms had

¹ Also in *Maṣalle-yi Dāniškade-yi Adabiyyāt*, V, 4.

² It gives me great pleasure to take this opportunity to express sincere gratitude to the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften and in particular to Professor Dr H. Grapow, the Director of its Institut für Orientforschung, for the permission to make use of the precious materials preserved in the Institut.

³ The remarks following here are concerned with the whole of the Manichaean Persian material, not merely with the manuscripts published in this article.

changed, but did so without system and allowed adequate representations of current speech to stand beside antiquated forms. The Middle Persian disguise is sometimes so perfect that only an occasional Arabic word betrays the true character of the language. The word for "and", pronounced *u*, is still written 'wd (اود), the Idāfe-particle *ī* appears as 'yg (عیک) or 'y, the abstract ending -ī is -yh or -yyh, the 3rd singular of presents ends in -yd but was pronounced in -ād (or perhaps -ēd), words in final -e and -ā are still spelt in -g and -'g, and this on occasion even affects Arabic loan-words, e.g. *jwmlg*=جملة. Influence of Sogdian orthography may be detected in *x'n'g* "house" (for the expected *x'ng*), *kwn'nd* "they do" (beside *kwnmd*), *sws'ndg* "burning", and the like. Quite modern forms abound, e.g. *z-*, in *zw*, *z'yn* "from him, from this" beside 'c (and 'z) "from", *j'y* or *j* "place" (MPers. *gy'g*), *b'* "with" beside 'b'g, *k'*=*ke* for MPers. *ka*, *ku*, and *kē*, etc.

In metrical passages the spelling takes little notice of the form of the words required by the verse: the metre is not meant for the eye. Thus 'wd 'yn *gwj*' (اود عین گوجا) suggests four syllables *ud īn gujā*, but is proved to be trisyllabic (- - -) by the metre and thus has to be read *ūīnguḡjā* "and this which", = classical *ūīnkuḡjā* وينکجا, with a noteworthy voicing of *k* after -*n*-; contrariwise, *w'ncy*=*uānčē* represents the true speech-form. There are cases of the licence, occasionally found in classical Persian poetry, of combining the Idāfe-particle with a preceding -e into a single long syllable (-ei from -e'i), but the orthography is not conducive to their detection; e.g. *ryšg* 'yg (ريشگ عیک) "the root of" counts as a disyllable, *rīšei* (- -). This mode of spelling makes it virtually impossible to establish the metre in broken passages.

The history of Manichaean Persian was too brief to permit the fixing of spelling rules, such as are created by a long tradition of schooling. Each scribe, it seems, had a method of his own. There are thus some differences between the two texts published here. The one scribe writes *pd* for the preposition *pa* (later *ba*) and *ny* for the negative particle, the other prefers single letters, *p-* and *n-*, joined to the following words. The scribe of the Qaṣīde allows an occasional -d- for postvocalic -d- ('ryδ "he brings", *nbdwδm* "I was not"), but mostly writes -d-; the other has -d- throughout. The verb "to open" is spelt with *g-* in the one text (*gwš'y*), with *k-* in the other: *bkwš'dmt* "I opened it for you" (which the metre shows to have been read as *bukšādamat*). The latter conforms to the general Central Asian (and

Indian) pronunciation of the word (*kušūdan*, etc.), yet *gwš'y* need not be considered a West-Persian form but may represent a late Middle Persian spelling (cf. *gwš'd* beside normal *wyš'd*).¹

The alphabet used is the ordinary Manichaean one in its Central Asian form, i.e. the basic stock of 22 Aramaic letters, transliterated (in Abjad order) as ' b g d h w z h t y k l m n s ' p c q r š t, plus various accretions: β γ δ f j x (ف ذ غ خ). A letter previously found only in Manichaean Turkish is *k* or *q* with two dots, here used for Arabic *q*.² A new letter is 'Ain with two dots to represent Arabic 'Ain;³ for this we write *ē*. The scribe of the Qaṣīde, adhering to classical Middle Persian tradition, tends to disregard the letter *f* and render the sound *f* by *p*, but only in Persian words; for *f* in Arabic words he sometimes employs a *p* with two dots.⁴ The Manichaean letter δ, which had been borrowed from Sogdian, had two values, δ and θ (ذ and ث); it is here sometimes used for Arabic θ, e.g. in *mδl*=*maḡal* "proverbial saying", but ordinarily that sound is expressed by a double δ,⁵ often with intertwined tops, which we transliterate as θ, e.g. *tθlyθ*=*taḡlīθ* "trine".⁶ Finally, the enclitic -ē "one" is expressed sometimes by the numeral sign "1" (reproduced as "-I"), sometimes by the letter -y with two dots; this may also serve generally to render final -ē (occasionally -ai?) and to distinguish it from -ī, e.g. *ykȳ*=*yakē* "a single", *hmȳ* (also *hmyȳ*)=*hamē* "always", *wyȳ*=*wai* "he".⁷

Letters that are partially destroyed, faded, or otherwise doubtful are enclosed in round brackets (); those in square brackets [] have been added by me to fill gaps in the manuscripts.

I. BILAUHAR U BŪDĪSAF

The principal fragment (its reconstruction has been described in the paper mentioned above, p. 89) consists of a sheet (*Doppelblatt*)

¹ Alternatively, the -*k-* may have been due to assimilation (*bukš-* from *bugš-*) and the spellings may reflect a genuine distinction (*gušāy-* : *bukšāy-*) in the living language, which by analogy led to the generalized Eastern form with *k-*.

² It must be remembered that the letter *q* (without dots) expresses ordinary *k* (occasionally *g*); similarly *t* expresses *ṭ* (sometimes *d*).

³ Undotted 'Ain, of course, has the value of Alif before front vowels.

⁴ One could infer from this that Arabic *f*, even in Persian pronunciation, was markedly different from Persian *f*.

⁵ Double δ was already used in Sogdian, with preference for θ (but also for δ).

⁶ It would be awkward to write *tθδlyδδ* instead.

⁷ Perhaps pronounced *wē*?

damaged at the bottom and outside margins; see Dr Boyce's *Catalogue* under M 581. Which of its two leaves (A and B) preceded the other it is in the nature of things impossible to say, except by the contents; in the same way the contents alone can tell which position the sheet occupied within its section (*Lage*), how many pages therefore are missing between the two leaves.

On the verso of A a chapter heading speaks of Bilauhar's separation from Būdīsaf and his return (next night). This I originally took to agree with p. 69 of the Bombay print, but in fact it corresponds far more closely with the similar passage Bombay p. 83, line 1 "on this they parted that night; then he came back to him next night (*al-qābilah*), greeted him, was greeted in return, and sat down"; which passage is followed immediately, in the Bombay text as in our fragment, by the question about Bilauhar's age. The preceding page is an elaborate version of Bombay p. 82, lines 11–15, admonitions to Būdīsaf to examine his mind and free himself from doubt. The whole of A thus corresponds with a single page of the Bombay print, 82 line 11–83 line 10. Leaf B refers to Bilauhar's personal spiritual experience (verse 14, cf. Bombay 89 pu.—91), sums up his discussions with Būdīsaf (verses 15, 19, 22, 23), advises him against rashness (24, 26), viz. in his plan to join Bilauhar as an ascetic, announces that he is on the point of leaving him (verse 20, cf. Bombay 123, line 2 sqq.) and entrusts the hope of meeting him again to God (20 and 21). These passages, unless I grossly misunderstand their purport (which in view of the broken text is perfectly possible), indicate that Bilauhar is speaking of his final departure (Bombay 135, line 12), certainly not of another meeting "next night", and therefore exclude the possibility of placing B before A. Thus B forms part of the long sermon that follows upon the question about Bilauhar's age, Bombay 86 sqq. A couple of sheets (=8 pages), perhaps a single sheet (4 pages), may suffice to cover the gap between A and B.

That this Persian version of *Bilauhar u Būdīsaf* did not lack the tales that are so essential a part of the whole composition, is proved by an additional small fragment of the same manuscript (C) that Dr Boyce kindly brought to my notice (=M 9130). It is unfortunately too insignificant to allow of further inferences. It would be tempting to restore *[(g)r byh]* (verse 32) to *[j'dw]gr byh[wn]*¹ and discover here

¹ *jādūgar Bihūn* would fit neatly into the verse.

the sorcerer whose name is spelt *البهون* in the Bombay text,¹ but this may be too adventurous and the verse in question more likely belonged to one of the tales.

A metrical fault is the case of *fā'ilātun* in the first foot of 16b, since otherwise *fā'ilātun* alone occurs. Elision of an unusual kind has to be assumed in 8 (*pa andīše 'ndarā* ~---~-, or even *pa'ndīše 'ndarā* ---~-, see below) and 27 (q.v.). Frequently a word beginning with a vowel is not tied with the preceding consonant, e.g. *hm 'c* 26 is measured as --, hence *ham 'az*, not *hamaz*. This, a matter of syllabification, is regarded as permissible; nevertheless, *pā 'yn my'n* 12 (the reading, however, is doubtful) as ---~ is intolerable; for this was surely pronounced *padīn* (*badīn*), not *pa'd 'īn*. A graver fault is the excessive use of ornamental -ā at the end of lines; while each separate case could be excused (thus *raušanā* and *andarā* occur in the *Šāhnāme*, and -ā after a 2nd sing. is fairly common, cf. Horn, *Grd. Ir. Phil.*, i, 2, p. 152), it is impossible that a good poet should have employed such an artifice in three out of four successive verses (24, 26, 27). This by itself suffices to compel me to withdraw my altogether too hasty suggestion that Rūdakī might have been the author of our work. We shall have to attribute it to a contemporary imitator of him, and not too skilful a one at that.

This is a good opportunity to draw attention to the Manichaean character² of an important part of the "wisdom" of the book as it appears in the Arabic texts, in spite of superficial islamisation. Most striking is the prophetology in the Bombay print, pp. 60–1 (in Rehatsek's translation of the abridgement, *JRAS*, 1890, p. 140), where the very wording compellingly recalls authentic Manichaean writings:

أَنَّ أَصْلَ دَعْوَةِ الْحَقِّ لَمْ تَزَلْ تَأْتِي عَلَى مَرِّ الزَّمَانِ وَيُظْهِرُ الْحَقُّ مَعَ أَنْبِيَاءِ
اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ فِي الْقُرُونِ الْمَاضِيَةِ الْأُولَى عَلَى أَلْسِنَةِ مُتَفَرِّقَةٍ

and further on with regard to the deterioration of earlier religions:

مِنْ بَقِيَّةِ مَا فِي أَيْدِيهِمْ مِنَ الْكُتُبِ وَالْفَقْهِ الَّتِي يَقْرَأُونَ بِهَا

¹ It has invariably been emended, cf. Kuhn, p. 29.

² On the general question see the excellent introduction to D. M. Lang's *The Wisdom of Balahvar*, 1957, especially pp. 24 sqq.

A Recto

- 1 t' [ny] b'sd rwn' [nd](r)[]
 cwn dylt šwd^a by-I-gwm['n^b]]
 2 'r qwnyy cwny(n) k' gw(f)[tyy]^c m[r mr' ?]
 j'y gyryd^d xwd sxwn dyl(t)^e 'nd[r' ?]
 3 by(x) [']wd ryšg 'yg^f d'nyš 'ndr d[yl bk'r]
 p[s ? brwyd] nrd 'wd š'x u [brg u b'r]
 4 hr sxwn [y]' pwršyš u jw(g)]
 hr cyt ''yd zw gwm'n 'ndr []
 5 b'z pwršyš b'r 'yg []
 hr cy xw'hy(h) t' bgw[yy^h]]
 6 wrt byrwn 'm[d]
 b' dyl 'y[g]
 7 nyk b(l)k^[i] ?]
 b'r 'yg d[]

[1-3 verses missing]

(a) = *šud*.—(b) By mistake for *bylg-* = *bē-gum[ān]*.—(c) Or *gw(f)[tm]* m[?—
 (d) = *gīrad*.—(e) Very feeble trace of *-t*, possibly merely *dyl*.—(f) = *rīšei*.—
 (g) Not *jw['b]*! Poss. *jw[m]g* 'yg *jw'b*, and [*šawāb*] in b?—(h) Or *bgw[ym]*.—(i) *-l*
 almost entirely disappeared, but no other letter fits traces.

A Verso [Plate IV]

- 8 [r](f)t byrwn 'c d[r](')
 [](py)^a pd 'ndyšg '(nd)[r]
 Heading in [](lw)hr ('c)^b jwd'g (ornamentation)
 coloured ink []b'z '(m)d(n) 'yg bylwhr (ornamentation)
 9 [](h)^c 'c ps by'md nyz (b')z
 [] qrd 'wd bwrđ ['wr' nm']z
 10 [pyš 'yg wyy ?](bn)šyst^d 'wd bwdysf^e (g)wft
 []r [ny]st br tw br nhwft
 11 [] . . . 'wd jwz 'yn sk'l
 [] . g(w)[d](š)tg^f cnd s'l
 12 []-I pd 'yn m(y'n)^g
 [] . . (zy)n zm('n)^h
 13 [] . wy . . . (b)wydⁱ
 []qwd(k) [š]w[y]d

(a) Possibly *-ft* = *xuft*? But then *pa 'ndiše 'ndarā*?—(b) Very doubtful.—(c) *pagāh* unlikely.—(d) Spelling: cf. Salemann, *Zum mp. Passiv*, 271 line 2.—(e) The principal tear between *d* and *y*, but these two letters quite certain.—(f) [š] not possible here, because its top would be visible; [z] out of the question.—(g), (h) Doubtful.—(i) = *buwad* or *buwūd*.



Bilauhar u Būdisaf (A verso and B recto)

Translation

- 1 Before it will be clear in when your heart has become free of doubt
- 2 If you do as [you] said [to me],¹ the word will take hold in your heart.
- 3 [Plant] the root and stock of wisdom in [the heart, then there will grow its] trunk² and branch, [its leaves and fruit].
- 4 Any saying or question and anything from which doubt comes to you in
- 5 Again a question the fruit of whatever you want to say³
- 6 If there has come out your with a heart of
- 7 Good, rather the fruit of [wisdom]

[Gap of 1-3 verses]

- 8 he⁴ went out by the door he⁵ [lay down] troubled in his mind.

Heading: Bilauhar parted the return of Bilauhar.

- 9 [At nightfall] thereafter he did indeed⁶ come back, made and bowed to him.
- 10 He seated himself [before him] and Būdisaf⁷ said to him: is not hidden from you.
- 11 and apart from this, consider⁸ passed how many years?
- 12 a single meanwhile (?) from this period
- 13 will be becomes a child⁹

¹ Or: as [I] said [. . . .]?

² *nard*, on which see *Sogdica*, p. 4, is a fairly uncommon word. Asadi quotes Kisā'i for it; it occurs in the *Šāhnāme*.

³ Or: you want me to say.

⁴ = Bilauhar.

⁵ = Būdisaf.

⁶ *nīz* harks back to Bilauhar's announcement (= ed. Bombay, p. 82, lines 10-11) that he would leave but return.

⁷ Strictly one should perhaps write *Bōdisaf*. I have generally avoided *maǰhūl*-vowels, partly because they serve to confer an outlandish look on quite familiar Persian words, and partly because their use has degenerated into a mere mannerism.

⁸ *s(i)kāl* = later *sigāl*.

⁹ Corresponding with *tiḡl* ed. Bombay, p. 83, line 4, therefore part of Būdisaf's remonstrance against Bilauhar's assertion that he was twelve years of age.

B *Recto* [Plate IV]

- 14 z'nk' d'nystm []
 'mdm nzdyk dy(dm)[]
 15 'wd 'yn gwj'a) gw(f)[tm^b]]
 k'yn (n)h'd(y)st(nd)[]
 16 s'n [']wd 'y(yn) []
 sxwn 'yg d(')[nyš]
 17 nw gwz(yn)'n d.[]
 t' sxwn pd []
 18 cwn (šwy)d^c mr(d) []
 xwd (q)wn(y)[d]^c q[]
 19 'yn (gwj')^d gwftm []
 w'n (cy)^d m'nd (')^c (k)[]
 20 rftm (')knwn rn(j) b(wr)d(m) []
 zwd m['n]^e dyd'r b'yd []

[1-3 verses missing]

(a) = *uīnguŷā*.—(b) Cf. 19.—(c) = *šavvad*, *kunad*.—(d) Very faint, but hardly in doubt.—(e) A tear in the paper makes it difficult to estimate the gap; hardly *m[n]*.

B *Verso*

- 21 []yd yzd^a) zm'n
 []bwyd^b) dyd'rm'n
 22 [] 'yg mn d'nyy cy cyz
 [] ny fr'mwšy^h^c) bnyz
 23 []p]'swx d'dmt
 []bkwš'dm^t(d)
 24 []xwd r'yy'^e)
 []y'd 'ry'
 25 []bd dr mnyyš
 []y'bd ks bwnš^f)
 26 []by^h k' xwd prhyzy'
 []('w)d hm 'c tyzyy'
 27 []' s(xwn)g)? (m)ngwšn'^h
 []s](x)wn pd (xrd)ⁱ) (šw)[yd] xwd rwšn'

(a) = *izad*.—(b) = *buwad*.—(c) = *šī*.—(d) = *bukš*.—(e) = *xwad-rāyiyā* (*-ra'y-i-ā*).—(f) = *bun-iš*.—(g) Illegible, but no other reading probable (the last two letters suggest *-yd* or *-yr* at first sight).—(h) Hardly *ng*.—(i) Doubtful; feeble traces. Metrically *pa-xrad* with elision (cf. *ba-bhišt* in the *Sāhnāme*, Nöldeke, *Nationalepos*², p. 96, line 5) as in the (etymologically identical) compound *bixrad* "wise", which is apparently not meant here.

Translation

- 14 Since I realised . . . , I came close (and) saw . . .
 15 And this which I said . . . ; for they (?) have established¹
 this . . .
 16 Fashion and custom . . . the word of wisdom . . .
 17 Those newly chosen² . . . until the word through . . .
 18 When a man becomes . . . , he himself makes . . .
 19 This which I said . . . and that which remained from . . .
 20 I am on my way now, I have undergone troubles . . . Soon
 [another] meeting will come³ for us . . .
 [Gap of 1-3 verses]
 21 . . . God will [determine] the time [when] . . . we shall see
 each other [again].
 22 . . . [if] you know what is my . . . you will never forget . . .
 23 . . . I have given answers to your [questions], I have undone
 your [puzzles] . . .
 24 . . . [if] you are wilful . . . you will call to mind . . .
 25 . . . in disposition . . . [no] one will reach its ground.
 26 . . . you should [seek] to restrain yourself . . . also from
 rashness.
 27 . . . speech [devoid of Reason] is guile and blandishment (?),⁴
 . . . just by Reason speech becomes luminous.

C

First page^a

- 28 []z u x(m)[]
 [](gw)š^u (zb)['n]
 29 ['z h]mg sxtyh []
 (c')rg 'yg rs[tn]

¹ *nihādistan* (the ending is doubtful), a perfect with *-ist-*, a type of form that acc. to Maqdisi, *B.G.A.* iii, 334, 8-9, was peculiar to Nišābūr. It is common enough in classical Persian, but is usually read with *-ast-*. Cf. Horn, *Grd. Ir. Phil.*, i, 2, p. 154, who quotes *nihādastī* from *Vīs u Rāmīn*.

² Hardly "those choosing the new".

³ *bāyad* = *bi-āyad* rather than "it is required".

⁴ No Persian word ending in *-ngwšn* is known to me; the first letter is uncertain, but was probably *m-*. Provisionally I assume that *mngwšn* = *mang-ū-šan* (*-au-* of *raušanā* need not rhyme), a collocation of *mang* "fraud", *ū* "and", and *šan*, a word that according to the lexicographers means *nāz ve kirišme* (the verse in Vullers is found in the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*). Or else "henbane and hemp" (meaning "poisonous nonsense").

fanciful, will, I hope, not be regarded as deviating unreasonably far from its basis. To enable the reader to form an opinion of his own, I am giving first the text as it stands, without embellishments; it is unbiased, except that in one or two places opinions may vary on the true reading of faded or half destroyed letters (enclosed in round brackets).

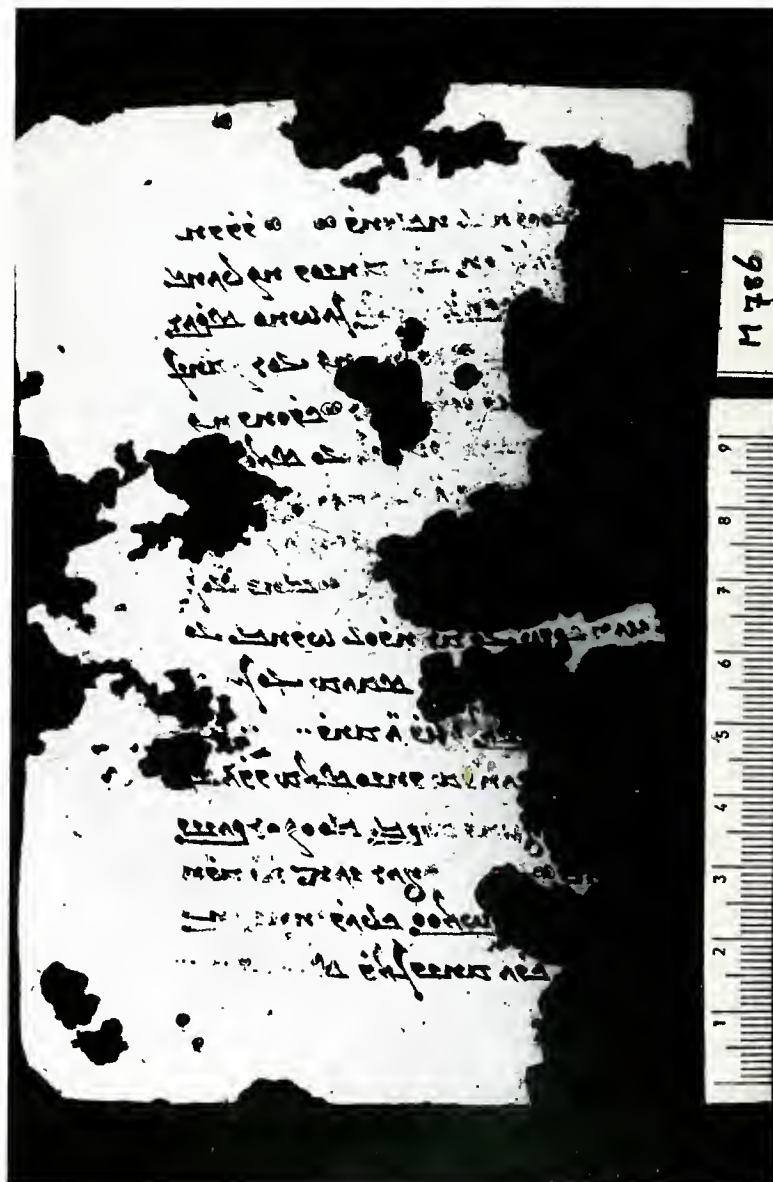
As reconstructed, the poem¹ appears to be an elegy put into the mouth of a man already in his grave. His spirit complains (verse 2) in general terms of the bad times (verse 3) and the spoiling of virtuous effort through evil forces (verse 5), but chiefly of the callous and hypocritical manner in which his companions have abandoned him to his fate and forgotten him (7-13). The whole abounds with Muslimic phrases and imagery (*Hārūn*, *Nūḥ*, *Yūsuf*, *Dhulfaqār*, *ḡawāb* in the grave). Yet although on the face of it no Muslimic censor could have found fault with it, we should remember that this is a Manichaean poem and realize that the apparent meaning conceals a hidden sense. Then the speaker becomes the *viva anima*, *grīw zīndag*, the "Living Soul", that is ever suffering through malice and neglect, cast aside and trampled on, a stranger in this evil world. So understood, the poem may be regarded as a witness to the adaptability of Manichaean propaganda, to its readiness to assume ever fresh disguises in order to meet the demands of the times. Just as in earlier centuries Christians and Buddhists had complained of Manichaean unscrupulousness, so the adherents of Islam were justified in being on their guard against crypto-Manichaean *zīndīqs*, who concealed their true thoughts behind an impenetrable hedge of familiar phrases.

Text

Recto [Plate V]

- 1 [. . .]syrr'b 'bd'r oo oo rrd'a)
- 2 [. . .](š)t(g) k' pr[.] m'nyd 'z jw'b
- 3 [. . .](δ)[.](l)pk'r . (k)l^b gwš'y sxwn
- 4 [.] . r[.]' [.] 'z 'yn (z)m'ng
- 5 [.]hr (m)r . [. . .]n oo pry'd 'z
- 6 [. . . .](m'ng) z(m)[.](n)g 'y sty[. . . .]
- 7 [.] u . . (w'ry) . [.]

¹ It is a "qaṣīde" only in form; in several ways it calls to mind the poetry found in the *Divān* of Nāṣir-i Khusrau.



A Qaṣīde (recto)

8 [(h'rw)^{nc} [. .](z)[. .]
 9 [] oo b'd 'yg
 10 hw(nr)^d (p)y(š) 'y mn 'ryδ šr'b 'y
 11 [.] smwm 'yg^d [. .]
 12 [. k .]st^e zhr u m'r oo oo (hr)
 13 [.] w'dm^f d'nystm drws[. .]
 14 [.]c(h')r mrkb byyzyn kwnnd
 15 [. .]'dg oo oo cwn nwh (mr) mr'
 16 [. . . . k .]štyy pjwr o ''(n)k'
 17 [. .] prw m'ndgtr s[. .]dh) oo oo

(a) Mistake for *drd'*.—(b) Two dots above first letter; (*k*) may have been the first or second letter of the word.—(c) or (*h'yr'*)*n*?—(d) Text up to *mn* on a thin, elongated tongue of paper showing just the letters. Words written above the line would have disappeared. Not certain, but probable that the line began with *hw(nr)* (the *R*-dot is not visible, so it could have been *hw(nd)*). One can hardly read *hw'* instead.—(e) Either 'y + g[. .] or 'yg with the remainder of the line left blank.—(f) The bottom stroke of *k* only visible; the precise place of *k* (or, equally possible, *x*) cannot be determined.—(g) Or *].w(r)m*. The preceding letter either *p* or *s*.—(h) Or *].r*.—(i) Or *s[. .]r*.

Verso

18 cwn ywspm p'khr prwd 'bg[. . .]
 19 pc'h o c'hyy k' br ny'[. . . .]
 20 'w cwzg'hyy šm'r oo [oo]
 21 zyyr 'y txt [.]rw xw'b[. o]
 22 k'pwr brg '[. .](w)rd^a kw(n)[.]
 23 [. .](m)n nθ'r oo oo 'nb(')[. . . .]
 24 [.] ng jwft mn k(w)[. .](nd)[.]
 25 [:¹⁻²](w)y 'y mn^b ndh[.]
 26 oo oo brgšt[.]
 27 'z gwr mn pd drd oo mn (zyyr) 'yg .
 28 [. .](k)^c frd ny ks[.]
 29 [. . .]d) 'wrdg pwšt (swy) (')[.]
 30 [:¹⁻²]wy 'y r'h d'dg m(d)^e]
 31 u pxrpwštg zr pnh'd^f]
 32 oo oo yk b('')rg) y' d[.]
 33 kwn'nd bs u ''nk[.]
 34 šwmm k' nbwδm 'z by.h)[.]

(a) Or *](z)rd*.—(b) *mn* added above the line.—(c) A dot visible above the first letter of this word.—(d) Perhaps merely punctuation marks.—(e) Or *m(r)*].—(f) Or *pnh'r*]. NB. not *pnh'n*.—(g) Or *b(')r*?—(h) Perhaps *by(h)*].

Reconstruction¹

- 1b - - - - - ~ ~ sīrāb ābdār
 2 dardā *sirište[-ī]² ke furū mānad az jāwāb
 *bā ḍulfaqār[-i]² 'aql gušāyī sax^{van} *pa-zār³
 3 faryād azīn zamāne *azīn *qahr[-i]⁴ mardumān
 faryād azīn zamāne zamāne-i⁵ sitīzgar⁶
 4 - - - - u marwārīd - - - -
 - - - - Hārūn - - - -
 5 bād-ī hunar [čū]⁷ piš-i man ārad šarāb-i *ḥaqq⁸
 - - samūm-i - ~ - - k.st zahr *i mār⁹
 6 har - - - aswār-am dānistam¹⁰ durust
 - - čahār markab bīzīn kunand *f(a)sār¹¹
 7 čun Nūḥ¹² mar marā ~ ~ - kaštiy-ī pa-jaur
 ānke - - - - furū-mānde-tar *sanār¹³
 8 čun Yūsuf-am pa-qahr furūd abganand¹⁴ pa-čāh

¹ Square brackets here enclose words which the scribe left out by mistake. Words added by me to fill gaps in the manuscript are marked by an asterisk, if they are not sufficiently supported by evidence. Trifling restorations are left unmarked.

² The Idāfe-particle, omitted by the transcriber, seems wholly necessary; the object of *gušādan* should be *sax^{van}*, not *'aql*.

³ The obvious restoration; what follows is indeed a "complaint".

⁴ Idāfe-particle again omitted.

⁵ -e + i as a single long syllable.

⁶ The pronunciation with -k- is recent.

⁷ Such a word may have stood above the line; see text.

⁸ Or similarly.

⁹ Ms. *zahr u mār*, which cannot be right.

¹⁰ *dānistam* treated as - - -, therefore pronounced *dānisam*? Less likely as **dāns^tam*, cf. *parastār* once in the *Šāhnāme* as - - -, i.e. *pars^tār* (acc. to Nöldeke, *Nationalepos*², 97).

¹¹ On the metrical treatment of *kunand* see below n. 14. One could, however, restore *kunand* **bār* instead.

¹² Written like the Persian word for "nine". Manichaean orthography did not permit *h* (by origin = Arabic *ḥ*) at the end of words; it had to be replaced by *ḥ* (by origin = Arabic *h*).

¹³ *s[. .]r* is best restored as *sanār*, a rare but well-attested word; *sawār* is less likely.

¹⁴ Here, and similarly twice in verse 9, I have restored a 3rd pers. pl. in preference to a 2nd or 3rd sing., although either of these would fit more comfortably into the metre. The sense seems to demand an "impersonal" 3rd pl., such as occurs in verses 10 and 13. There is no serious difficulty metrically, since the use of -and as a simple long syllable (not - -) is well-established, see Nöldeke *loc. cit.*, 102.—*abgan*- old-fashioned spelling of *aḡgan*-.

- čāh-ī ke bar-ney-āyam azū juz gāh-ī¹ šumār
 9 - - - zīr-i taxt furū x^vābanand *marā
 kāfūr [u] barg-i mūrd kunand *rūy-i man niθār
 10 anbāz - - - ~ - - -ne juft[-i]² man kunand
 - - - sūy-i man ne-dihand - - - -
 11 bargašte - - - ~ ~ az gūr[-i]² man pa-dard
 man zīr-i xāk fard ne kas - - - -
 12 āwarde pušt³ suy-ī *to⁴ suy-ī rāh-dāde mard
 - - - ū pa-xarpušte[-i] zar-nihāde⁵ *xār⁶
 13 yak bār yā do bār - - - kunand bas
 uānke - - - šūm ke ne-būdam az bi -⁷

Translation

- 1 sated with water and juicy.
 2 Piteous [the creature] that is incapable of giving the Answer!⁸
 [With the help of] the Dhulfaqār of Reason do open your speech
 [in plaint]!
 3 I cry for help against this age, [against this tyranny of] mankind.
 I cry for help against this age, the age of quarrels and strife.
 4 and pearls Aaron
 5 [Whenever] the wind of Virtue brings before me the wine of
 [Truth?],
 The simoom of [Passion mingles with it illusion-creating] snake-
 poison.⁹

¹ *cuwz g'hyy*, incomprehensible as it stands, has been altered by me into *juz gah-i*, which should have been written *jwz gh* 'y(g), or *g'h* with the usual neglect of metrical shortening in spelling. A meaning equivalent to *juz* (*dar*) *rūz-i ḥisāb* seems required.

² Idāfe-particle omitted in the MS.

³ *pušt* treated as *puš*, cf. *dānistam* above verse 6, and Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, 103.

⁴ A word depending on *suy-ī* and consisting of a single open, short syllable is required. The restoration of *to* thus seems unavoidable, in spite of the awkwardness of a change in person, at least in form; for in sense *to* equals *man* in the preceding verses (cf. verse 2).

⁵ MS. *zr pnh'd*. The line lacks both sense and metre, and has been emended drastically; -e-i (-i restored) again taken as a single syllable.

⁶ Possible; the choice is small.

⁷ If *by(h)*, one would have to restore as *bihār* = "Buddhist monastery" (usually read *ba-* or *bu-*, but originally *bi-*). The meaning eludes me.

⁸ Demanded by the examining angels in the grave.

⁹ Emended from "poison and snake(s)".

- 6 Ever [since] I was a horseman, I came to know for certain
 they bridle (?) four horses unsaddled.¹
- 7 [They put] me, Noah-like, into an ark² by force —
 That (ark) which [is] more helplessly cast down [on]
 shallows.
- 8 They throw me, Joseph-like, into the pit³ with violence —
 That pit whence I shall only rise at the time of (the last) reckon-
 ing.
- 9 [When they] lay [me] to sleep down under the plank ,
 They scatter [upon] me camphor and myrtle-leaves.
- 10 [No] companion they join with me,
 Towards me they do not give
- 11 [The mourners have] returned from my grave in pain:
 I (am) left alone under the soil, no one
- 12 (They have) turned their backs upon [you?]⁴, upon the man who
 has been sent on his way⁵:
 over the gilded crest of the tomb [brambles are growing
 already].⁶
- 13 Once perhaps or twice they will [think of me]—that is all.
 And he that an ill omen that I was not from

¹ Reference (possibly to the manner of carrying the coffin to the burial?) not clear (on the use of horses in funeral processions in Persia, see e.g. H. Massé, *Croyances et Coutumes Persanes*, i, 99–101).

² Viz. the coffin.

³ Viz. the grave.

⁴ An odd change of person.

⁵ *rāh-dāde* = "someone to whom the road has been given", usually = "allowed to enter, admitted".

⁶ The line is not in order; meaning doubtful.

DIE ELAMISCHEN INSCRIFTEN DES HANNE

Von WALTHER HINZ

Im Tal von Mālamīr, in frühislamischer Zeit und seit 1935 amtlich wieder Īze genannt, befinden sich beidseits der gleichnamigen Provinzstadt Felsschluchten mit Denkmälern des Elamerfürsten Hanne aus der Zeit um 710 v. Chr. Die nordöstliche Schlucht trägt den Namen *Kūl-e Farah*;¹ hier ist das Hauptdenkmal ein Relief des Hanne mit einer 24zeiligen elamischen Inschrift und einigen Beischriften. An der Südwestseite des Tales befindet sich die Schlucht *Šekāf-e Salmān*² mit mehreren Denkmälern Hannes; das wichtigste ist seine 36zeilige elamische Inschrift in der Grotte bei der Quelle dort.

Die erste Beschreibung beider Orte gab A. H. Layard, der Anfang 1841 Mālamīr besuchte.³ Eine erste brauchbare Ausgabe der Inschriften besorgte 1894 F. H. Weissbach⁴ auf Grund der Abklatsche Layard's und eines Fotos, das M. Dieulafoy veröffentlicht hatte.⁵ Einen verbesserten Text samt ausgezeichneten Heliogravüren brachte 1901 V. Scheil;⁶ im Anhang dazu gab G. Jéquier eine genaue Beschreibung aller Denkmäler von Mālamīr. Nach O. Mann (1902) haben anscheinend nur Sir Aurel Stein (1936) und der Verfasser

¹ So die örtliche Aussprache; Sir Aurel Stein (*Old Routes of Western Irān*, London, 1940, 130) hat *Qul-fara*, die Französische Mission: *Koul-i-Fir'aoun*. Ich vermute ein verballhorntes *kul-e ferang* = "Franken-Schlucht" (Hanne als Europäer missverstanden).

² Örtliche Aussprache: *Eškāf-e Salmūn*; in der Literatur *Šikaft-i Salmān* (auch *Šekāftā-ye Salmān*).

³ *A Description of the Province of Khūzistān*, in: *JRGS* 16 [1846], 75–9.

⁴ *Neue Beiträge zur Kunde der susischen Inschriften*, in: *Abh. d.Kgl. Sächs. Ges.d.Wiss.* XXXIV, Phil.-hist. Kl. xiv 7, Leipzig, 1894, 731–77.

⁵ *Revue d'Archéologie*, III. Série, Bd.6, Paris, 1885, Planche 24, sowie in seinem Buche *L'Acropole de Suse*, Paris, 1893, 33.

⁶ *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse (MDP)* III, Paris, 1901, 102–13; vgl. auch V. Scheil's Verbesserungen seines Übersetzungsversuches in *MDP*, V, 1904, 6.

(1958) die Hanne-Denkmäler untersucht. Zwar sind mehrere Forscher auf einzelne Inschriftstellen eingegangen; doch fehlt bislang nicht nur eine einigermaßen endgültige Fassung beider Inschriften, sondern ausser V. Scheil hat auch noch niemand eine Übersetzung gewagt. Sein Versuch ist aber nach dem heutigen Stand der Elamistik (begreiflicherweise) gänzlich überholt.

Im folgenden gebe ich eine Neufassung beider Texte nach dem epigraphischen Befund, auf Weissbach und Scheil fussend, sowie einen neuen Versuch einer Gesamtübersetzung. Diese will jedoch nur als Arbeitsunterlage für weitere Forschungen gelten, da erst ein geringer Teil des elamischen Wortschatzes erschlossen, also sehr vieles noch unsicher ist. Die Anmerkungen sind, um den Rahmen eines Festschrift-Beitrages nicht zu sprengen, auf das Allernötigste beschränkt.—

I (Kül-e Farah)

(1) e dte-ip-ti.ú.ri dti-ru-ti-ir	O mein gnädiger Herr Tirutir!
dti-ru-tur si-ul.hi-te-ik.ra	(Gott) Tirutir, der starkbewehrte,
ši-ul-ha-ak dna-ap-pi-ir-ra	der Gestärkte unter den Göttern,
ba-hi-ir su-un-ki-ip.ri	der Schirmer der Könige,
dte-ip-ti (2) ki-te-en ¹ .tc-um-be-en.ra	der (magischen Schutz-)Bann ² verleihende gnädige Herr,
ši-iš-ni-ir šà-ri	ist ein Verschönernder,
li-in.ri šà-ri	ist ein Gebender.
li-in ki-te-en-ni.na	Die Gabe seines (Schutz-) Bannes:—
ANlg uk-ku-mi-na ki-te-en	am Himmel oben ³ Bann,
KIlg ba-at-mi-na ki-te-en	auf Erden unten ³ Bann,
ki-te-(3)-en šil-ha-pa ki-te-cn	Bann der Starken, einen Bann:
lam in-ni a-h hi-ir-pi-qa	kein Auge (?) hier ward geduldet (?),
ba-at in-ni a-h su-uk-qa-ma-na	kein Fuss hier durfte auftreten,
šu-uk-ki-it in-ni a-h li-ul-ma-ma-na	kein Wort(?) hier durfte verlauten—

¹ Richtige Lesung (*en* statt *ik*) durch G. Hüsing, *OLZ*, 1906, Sp. 605, nach Abklatsch von O. Mann.

² Die von mir erschlossene Bedeutung (*Archiv Orientalni*, 1950, 294) passt auch zu *kiten* in dem neugefundenen Bruchstück der *Daiva*-Inschrift des Xerxes (Z.31, vgl. G. G. Cameron in: *Welt des Orients*, 1959, 476).

³ So richtig G. Hüsing, *OLZ*, 1904, Sp. 438.

ši-ul-ha-h-(4)-ba a-ak ba-ap-ha-ap-ba	haben die Starken und Guten:
dna-pír si-pa-ak-ir-r[a] a-ak	der glänzende (Gott) Napir ¹ und
dši-mut ² be-ri-ir na-ap-pír-ra	(Gott) Šimut, der Herold(?) der Götter
tu-h-iš	empfangen.
dhu-ban ri-šá-ir dna-ap-pír-ra	Nachdem (Gott) Humban, der grösste der Götter,
<LUGĀL> ki-tin ir.(5).šà-ra.ir-ra	unter dessen (magischem Schutz-)Bann <ein König> steht,
ki-tin šil-ha-na	den Bann stark gemacht hatte,
ú vha-an-ni DUMU táh-hi-hi	habe ich, Hanne, Sohn des Tah-hihi,
ku-tur ba-a-pír-ra	Fürst ("Hüter") von Aipir (= Provinz Mālamīr/Īze),
a-a-in.ú.me-na ri-šá-h-èn-ra	meines Hauses Mehrer,
an-(6)-h	Andacht gehalten(?).
pu-uk-tu ₄ dte-ip-ti dti-ru-tur-na	Nachdem der Beistand des gnädigen Herrn Tirutir
a-ak dna-pír si-pa-ak-ir-ra.na	und des glänzenden (Gottes) Napir,
dšimut.na a-ak dhu-ban	des (Gottes) Šimut und des (Gottes) Humban,
(7) LUGĀL ki-tin ir.šà-ra.ir-ra-na	unter dessen Bann ein König steht,
ú táh-ha-na	mir zuteil geworden war,
ki-tin šil-ha-na	den Bann stark gemacht hatte,
za-al-mu.ú.me a-h táh	brachte mein Bildwerk ich hier an.
za-al-mu.ú.me dti-ru-(8)-tur	Mein Bildwerk hat (Gott) Tirutir,
si-ul.hi-te-ik.ra	der starkbewehrte,
ti-ip-ba šá-al.hu-ba-iš	mit Inschrift verlangt.

¹ Vgl. meine Ausführungen in *Orientalia*, 1950, 411; Napir als Mondgott ist mir jedoch nicht mehr ganz sicher.

² So richtig zuerst G. Hüsing, *OLZ*, 1904, Sp. 440. R. T. Hallock hat scharfsinnig gezeigt (*JNES*, 1958, 260, Anm. 18), dass das Zeichen *man* oder PAP ("alles"), das in unserer Inschrift in den Zeilen 6 und 21 vorkommt, auch den logographischen Wert *šimut* hat. Šimut ist also der Gott der "Gesamtheit", des "Alls".

ir-še-lam.ú.mi	Da meinen Aufstieg(?)
ḏna-pír si-pa-ak-ir-ra	der glänzende (Gott) Napir (und)
ḏte-ip-(9)-ti hu-ut-tan-ba	der gnädige Herr (Tirutir) betrei-
	ben,
MU ¹ g sir-mu-in-ni hul ¹ -lak	wurde ein reicher Herrscher ge-
	brandschatzt(?),
hu-h-šu-na ²	durch (ihre) Gunst
ku-lam sir-mu-in-ni pi-ir-rák ³	wurde ein reiches Gebiet(?) unter-
	jocht,
muš-x
hul-li-in sir-mu-(10)-in-ni hu-	wurde reiche Beute(?) gemacht.
ut-tak	
ba-me ⁴ LUGÀL ṽšu-tur ḏUTU	Da ich Treue(?) gegenüber dem
	König Šutir-Nahhunte, ⁵
šá-ak in-da-da.ri.na hu-ut-tan-qa	dem Sohne des Indada, betätige,
hu-h-šu-na	wurde durch (seine) Gunst
PAP ¹ g (11) sir-mu-in-ni a-h be-	alles reich hier begründet.
lam-ik	
hhi-lam.ú.mi ki-ni-ma-ha	Meinen Hofstaat(?) habe ich ver-
	wirklicht,
ku-tu-h	ich wahrte (ihn).

¹ Nach F. Bork bei G. Hüsing, *OLZ*, 1904, Sp. 438.

² MU¹g hat V. Scheil in einem späten Omen-Text (*Rev. d'Ass.*, 1917, 31) als "prince", *hu-šu-ni-en* als "sera favorable" aufgefasst, wahrscheinlich zu Recht. Zu *sir-mu-in-ni* vgl. *si-ir-ma-an-na* in der Inschrift des Atta-Hamiti-Insušnak (regierte 653–648), Zeile 10 (bei M. Pézard, in: *Babyloniaca*, 1924, 8), das "zu bereichern" bedeuten könnte, von *sir* "schwer" = "reich, mächtig". Für den Stamm *hill-* (in *hul-lak*) wollte G. Hüsing (*OLZ*, 1904, Sp. 438) etwa "verletzen" annehmen; wahrscheinlicher ist "ausplündern".

³ Zu *pi-ir-rák* (Lesung nach F. Bork bei G. Hüsing, *OLZ*, 1904, Sp. 440) ist nicht nur *pír-ra-at-ni* "du mögest unterdrücken!" zu stellen (*CIE* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Elamitarum*, ed. F. W. König, Hannover o.J. = 1923, No. 45, Col. IV, Zeile 18), sondern auch *in-ni ir pír-ra-ma-ak* in der Darius-Inschrift DSe, "er wird nicht unterdrückt" = altpers. *naiy vimardatiy*. Näheres in meinem Aufsatz *Zu den Persepolis-Täfelchen*, *ZDMG*, 1961, S. 249.

⁴ Lesung nach M. Pézard (*Babyloniaca*, 1924, 21, Anm. 4), der allerdings "œuvre" übersetzt.

⁵ So hieß ursprünglich der später sich Šutruk-Nahhunte (II.) nennende König, der 717–699 regierte. Sein Vater war ein sonst unbekannter Indada. Die Behauptung Šutir-Nahhunte's in seinen Inschriften, er sei ein *šak* des Hubanimenta, bedeutet m.E. lediglich, dass er sich als "Spross" des bekannten Königs Humbanumena (regierte um 1270 v. Chr.) ausgab.

hšil-hi-te ú.ma be-ip-(12)-te-na	Als (der Ort) Šilhite von mir ab-
	trünnig geworden war, bin ich,
pu-uk-ti ḏte-ip-ti su-ul-ra-ir-	nachdem der Beistand des siegver-
ra.na	leihenden(?) gnädigen Herrn
a-ak ḏza-na ú da-ri-ra.na	und der mir verbündeten (gött-
	lichen) Herrin
ú (13) ki-ni-na	sich mir verwirklicht hatte,
mi-du-ya	aufgebrochen.
20 ku-du-be-be ¹ ap-in zap-pa-	Zwanzig ihrer Führer, sie habe ich
ha	gefangen genommen,
pa-nah.e sa-lam sa-(14)-ri-h	ihr Blut(?) zur Sühne (??) ver-
	nichtete ich,
pa-kás-ki.e ta-ha-ha	ihr <i>pakaski</i> habe ich heimge-
	sandt(?),
h _a -a-pír si-ya-an ḏna-ir-si-na	in Aipir einen Tempel der Narsina,
za-na la-tuk li-pi-(15)-in-ra.na	der liebeich(?) sich nahenden
	Herrin,
pi-ip-ši-h ku-ši-h	mauerte, baute ich,
a-ak pa-kás-ki hu-h-be	und mit jenem <i>pakaski</i>
nu-me i qa-tu ₄ -h	bekrönte(?) ich dies Denkmal(?).
(16) za-al-mu.ú.me hu-ut-táh a-	Mein Bildwerk verfertigte ich,
ak	und
ti-ip-be šá-al.hu-ba-h	eine Inschrift dazu verlangte ich.
hšil-hi-te 120 šá-h-ši-ik-me-me	In Šilhite 120 Bergziegen ² (??)
ma-ri-h a-ak pa-nah	ergriff ich und (ihr) Blut(?)
h _a -a-pír na-(17)-ap.ma ku-ši-ha	habe ich in Aipir für die Gott-
	heit(?) verbaut(?),
a-h-in ap-in šá-al.hu-ba-h	hier habe ich es für sie verlangt.

hA¹g pír-ri-in ú.ma be-ip-te-na Als (das Gebiet am) Fluss Pirrin (= *Kārūn*?) von mir abtrünnig ge-
worden war, habe ich,

¹ Auf der Bronzetafel-Inschrift aus dem Schatzhaus zu Persepolis, die E. F. Schmidt veröffentlicht hat (*Persepolis II*, Chicago, 1957, Tafel 28), findet sich *Rev.* Zeile 17 die Wendung: GAM.ku-du-ip GAM.su-un-ki-ip. Da in dieser Inschrift das Zeichen GAM für das männliche Personen-Determinativ steht, dürften auch die *ku-du-be-be* unseres Textes Personen gewesen sein, obschon in ihm das Zeichen GAM als Zahlwort 20 verwendet worden zu sein scheint.

² "120 Ziegen" mit Fragezeichen auch F. Bork (*AfO*, 1933–4, 296).

i-da pu-uk-tu ₄ dte-ip-ti (18) su-ul-ra-ir-ra.na	nachdem dann der Beistand des siegverleihenden(?) gnädigen Herrn,
dza-na ú da-ri-ra.na	der mir verbündeten (göttlichen) Herrin
a-ak d ₂ na-ap-pi ha-a-pír-ip.na ú táh-ha-na	und der Götter von Aipir mir zuteil geworden war,
i-(19)-tak a-h-in be-zí-ya	dann hier es gefeiert(?).
80 šá-h-ši-ik-me-me ma-ri-ha	80 Bergziegen(?) habe ich ergrif- fen,
pa-nah ha-a-pír na-ap.ma ku- ši-ha	(ihr) Blut(?) in Aipir für die Gottheit(?) verbaut(?),
a-h-in (20) ap-in šá-al.hu-ba-h	hier habe ich es für sie verlangt.
<hr/>	
ki-tin dte-ip-ti ki-tin ¹ .te-um- be-en-ra.na	Der (magische Schutz-)Bann des Bann-gewährenden gnädigen Herrn,
d ₂ na-pír si-pa-ak-ir-ra ba-hir d ₂ na-ap-pír-ra.na	des glänzenden (Gottes) Napir, des Schirmers der Götter,
(21) dšimut be-ri-ir na-ap-pír- ra.na	des (Gottes) Šimut, des Herolds(?) der Götter,
d ₂ hu-ban LUGÀL ki-tin ir.šá- ra.ir-ra.na	des (Gottes) Humban, unter des- sen Bann ein König steht,
za-al-mu.ú.me-nu uk-ku.na tak- ni	sei über mein Bildwerk gelegt!
za-al-mu.ú.me mi-(22)-ul-qa-šá hi-iš.e a-raš ² pi-it-tin-ra	Wer mein Bildwerk verdirbt, seinen Namen als Besitz einheimst,
la-h-l[i]-šá	es zerhämmt,
du-hi ³ .e a-raš hu-ut-tan-ra	als sein Eigen sich zum Besitz macht,
šá ku-iz-za-qa dDIL.BAT-(23)- na	der soll des Heiltums(?) der (Göt- tin) Venus-Stern (=Narsina)
i-ma hu-ma-ak-ni	hier beraubt sein,

¹ Lesung mit G. Hüsing (OLZ, 1908, Sp. 338).

² Zu a-raš vgl. jetzt auch R. T. Hallock (JNES, 1960, 96).

³ Von F. Bork (WZKM, 1929, 7) als "Dynastie" gedeutet, aber doch wohl mit G. G. Cameron (JCS, 1960, 62-3), der hierin mit Erica Reiner übereinstimmt, als "self" oder "Eigen" aufzufassen, da DB I 33 hal-pi 'du'-hi.e.ma hal-pi-ik altpersisches (h)uvāmšīyus amriyatā und akkadisches mitūtu ramannišu mīti = "er starb durch sein eigenes Sterben" wiedergibt.

te-na su-ku-uk-na	(aus ihrer) Huld(?) getilgt,
hu-šu-uk	verstossen(?),
šá mi-hul-lak-ni	der soll verdorben sein!
KIlg ru.uk-ku.ra pi-tu ₄ -uk-qa	Als auf der Erde Verlorener
dUTU ir.šá-ra.(24).ra a-nu iz- zu-un	soll er unter der Sonne nicht mehr wandeln! ¹
tan-na-am-me 3.e a-nu si-mi- ni-en	Seine drci Freuden(?) soll er nicht mehr genießen(?)!
ki-tin šil-ha-h d ₂ na-ap-pi-ip-ba.na	Den starken Bann der Götter habe
za-al-mu-me-nu uk-ku.na táh ²	auf mein Bildwerk ich gelegt.

I(a): *Beischrift auf dem Relief der Gestalt Hannes:*

(1) ú vha-an-(2)-ni DUMU táh-hi-(3)-hi ku-tur ha-(4)-a-pír-ir-ra
(5) za-al-mu.ú.(6).me d₂ti-ru-(7)-tur si-ul.(8).hi-te-ik.ra (9) ti-ip-ba
ki-(10)-tin šil-ha-na a-(11)-h šá-al.hu-(12)-ba-h
"Ich (bin) Hanne, Sohn des Tahhihi, Fürst von Aipir. Mein Bildwerk
habe ich, nachdem (Gott) Tirutir, der starkbewehrte, (für es samt)
Inscription den (magischen Schutz-)Bann stark gemacht hatte, hier
verlangt."

I(b): *Beischrift zu der oberen Figur hinter Hanne:*

ú všu-[ut]-ru-r[u] [r]a-g[i]-[ba]³ vha-an-ni = "Ich (bin) Šutruru,
Hannes Minister".

I(c): *Beischrift zu der unteren Figur hinter Hanne:*

ú všu-ut-ru-ra(?) zi-ik-ki-ir vha-an-ni = "Ich (bin) Šuturura(?),
Hannes Mundschcnk".⁴

I(f): *Beischrift zu dem Priester über den drei
Bergziegen-Köpfen:*

dte-ip-ti hu-ban mu-h-hu-du-ul-li.ra = "Tempti-Humban, der
Opfer-Darbringer".

Die übrigen Beischriften sind teils unergiebig, teils undurchsichtig.

II (*Šekāf-e Salmān*)

(1) ú vha-an-ni DUMU táh-hi-hi Ich (bin) Hanne, Sohn des Tah-
hihi,

¹ Zur Übersetzung vgl. *Archiv Orientalni*, 1950, 293 und *ZA*, 1952, 242ff.

² So richtig G. Hüsing (OLZ, 1908, Sp. 338).

³ Wohl verballhornt aus akkad. *rab ekalli* "Palastaufseher", vgl. *Arch. Or.*, 1950, 287, Anm. 13.

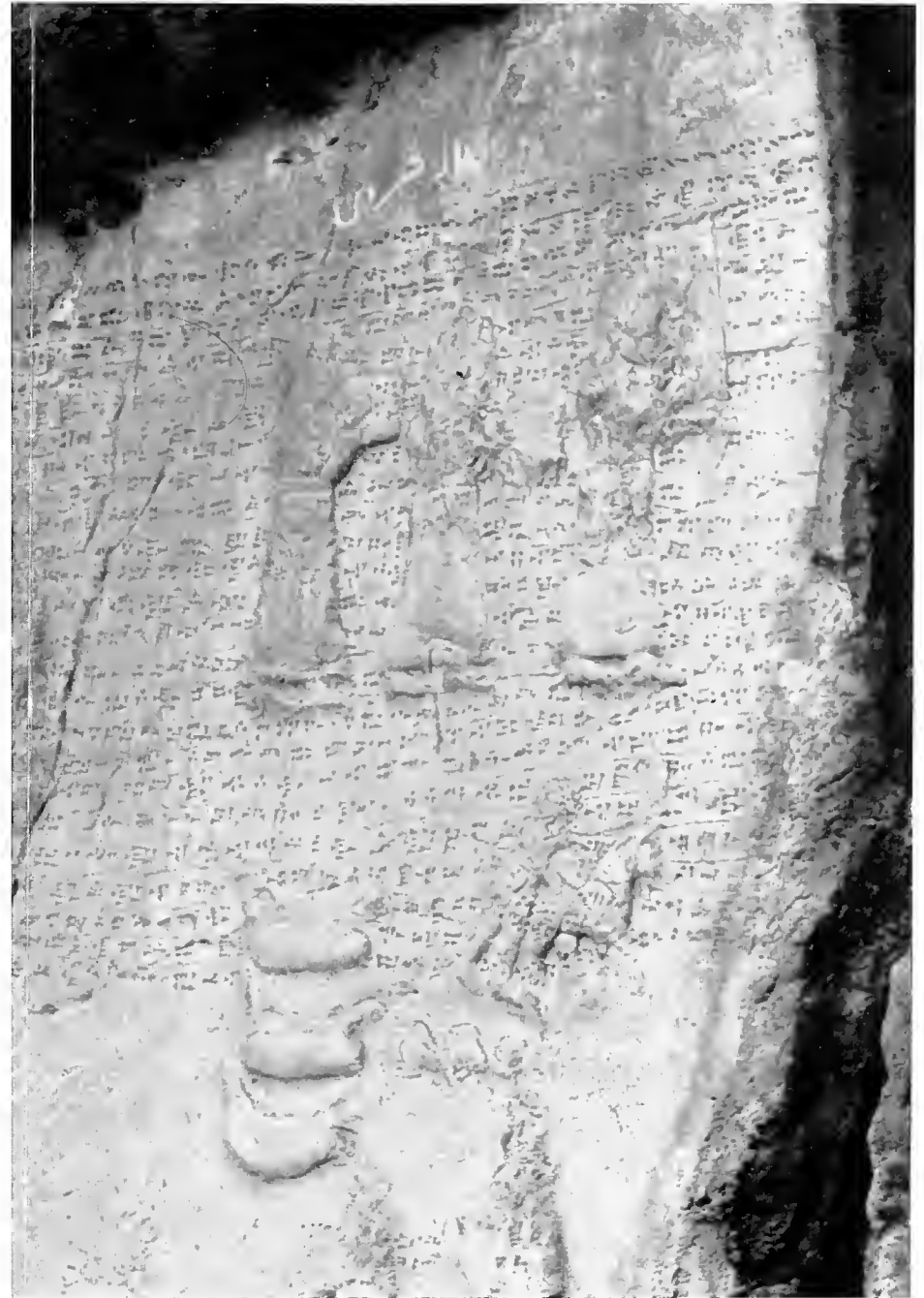
⁴ Glücklicher Fingerzeig von I. Gershevitch (*Asia Major*, 1951, 135/6):
pu-hu zik-qa-[ap] = "boys, (wine-)pourers".

ku-tur ^h a-a-pír-ra NIM.ma	Fürst von Aipir in Elam,
ku-tur ^h za(2)-ip-pu-la-h-si-mi.ma	Fürst in Zappulahsimi(?).
ku-du ^h a-a-pír.na ku-tu-h	Die "Herde"(?) von Aipir hütete ich.
vur?-ra?-áš-ti.na-h-tú?-(3)-uk.ra	Den
nu-h-hu ten wir.
vza-al-mi.ú.mi-ni a-ak ^f hu-h-in	Mein Bildwerk und das der Huhin,
ru-tú šu-tú (4) ha-ni-ik.ú.ri.na	meiner geliebten Gattin-Schwester, ¹ (und)
pu-hu.mi-na ú-h-um.ma	meines Kindes habe ich für uns(?)
^h tar-ri-šá	in Tarriša (= <i>Šekāf-e Salmān</i>)
d̄bar-ti za-na ^h tar-(5)-ri-šá.ra	vor der (Göttin) Parti, der Herrin
si.ma ki-te-nu-h	von Tarriša, (magisch) gebannt.
za-al-mu-me te-ip-ba tak ki-te-nu-h	Mein oben [an der Felswand] angebrachtes Bildwerk bannte ich;
(6) in-ni be-ra-an-man-qa	ohne es gelesen zu haben,
šá-ra tak ki-te-nu-h	bannte ich das unten [in der Grotte] angebrachte. ²
ir mur da-ak-ki-me.ú.me	Um meines Lebens
a-(7)-ak ^f hu-h-in	und des der Huhin,
ru-tú šu-tú ha-ni-ik.ú.ri.na	meiner geliebten Gattin-Schwester,
v̄pu-hu.mi-na	(und) meines Kindes willen haben wir
d̄bar-ti za-na ^h (8)tar-ri-šá.ra ik-ki	hin auf Parti, die Herrin von
ha-h-pu-hu	Tarriša, gehorcht.
e d̄bar-ti na-pír.ú.ri	O Parti, meine Göttin,
ku-ul-lak.ú.me ha-(9)-pu-it-ni	mögest du mein Flehen erhören!
tu ₄ -ru-uk.ú.me hu-ud-da-at-ni	Mögest du das von mir Gesagte tun!
nu-ku-na kut-tin.ni	Uns dein (Schutz-) Bann
ba-at in-ni (2 Zeichen)	zu Füßen(?) nicht
(10) nu-ku-na kut-tin-ti	Uns gib du (Schutz-) Bann!
be-ti-in-ni-na ³ pu-uk-ti.ni	Betreffs des Feindes möge dein
ú táh-ha-ak-ni	Beistand mir zuteil werden!

¹ Vgl. *Arch. Or.*, 1950, 292.² Ebenda S. 286.³ Richtige Lesung und Deutung durch M. Pézard (*Babyloniaca*, 1924, 20).



Relief des Elamerfürsten Hanne (um 710 v. Chr.) in d



chlucht Kül-e Farah zu Mālamīr/Īze (1.70 × 1.06m). (Aufn. Hinz.)

da-ri-in-ni-(11)-na ki-ni-ik-me Betreffs des Verbündeten möge
das Walten
d̄bar-ti am-ma ba-ha d̄na-ap-pír- der Parti, der guten Göttermutter,
ra.na
ku-un-tu-um da-(12)-ak-ni zum Heile ausschlagen!

všu-ut-ru-ru ra-gi-bal.ú.ri Da Šutruru, mein Minister,
gi-li-ir-ra der Befehlshaber,
za-al-mu-me (13) tuk-kán-ra mein Bildwerk wünschte, habe ich
hKUR hbe-e-si¹ ik-qa-ha es hier beim *Pēci*-Gebirge
ud-du-KI.MIN² d̄bar-ti.na uk- über dem Bauwerk der (Göttin)
ku.mi Parti
táh a-(14)-ak za-al-mi.e angebracht, und sein Bildwerk
hu-h-da-ha habe ich auch anfertigen lassen,
du-tuk.ma si-ik-qa.táh am Felsen(?) richtete ich es auf.
v[šu-ut-(15)-ru]-ru ku-ku-da [Šutru]ru
ru-lam³ pa-muk^{lg} du-ma?-x- zur Kapelle(?)
ud.ma
d̄bar-ti htar-ri-(16)-šá (Göttin) Parti nach Tarriša
ši-ni-en-ra mur-tin-ra kommend (und dort) Wohnsitz
nehmend.
[a-ha]-ir mur-da-na Nachdem sie dort Wohnsitz ge-
nommen,
mu-h-tú ku-(17)-ul-li flehte ich opfernd,
hu-h-be hu-ut-tak-ni jenes möchte getan werden;
[x-y-z mu]-h-tú ku-ul-li opfernd flehte ich —

¹ Das *Pēci*-Gebirge, also wohl die—von Westen her gesehen—zweite Kette des Bachtieren-Gebirges, das die Ebene der Susiana im Osten abschliesst, wird auch auf der Louvre-Stele des Atta-Hamiti-Insušnak in Zeile 11 erwähnt (vgl. M. Pézard in: *Babyloniaca*, 1924, 8–9).

² Das Zeichen KI.MIN "ditto" hat F. Bork gefunden (*WZKM*, 1929, 7). *ud-du-KI.MIN* = *uttu.uttu* bedeutet "Werk, Arbeit, Bau"; vgl. auch R. T. Hallock, *JNES*, 1950, 244. Entsprechend ist jetzt die Darius-Bauinschrift aus Susa (DSf, meine Veröffentlichung in *JNES*, 1950, 2) in Z.21 wie folgt zu verbessern: [šá-da-ni-qa]-ma.mar hu-ut-KI.MIN.-ak.na šá-ra.ma hmu-ru-un máš-zik ku-iš [b]e-la-qa = "(sein Material wurde geholt) von [weit] her. Von des Baues Untergrund wurde Erde ausgeschachtet, bis man aufsass".

³ *ru-lam* kommt zweimal vor in der Inschrift des Atta-Hamiti-Insušnak (Zeilen 17 und 19) in dem Zusammenhang: ". . . . zu dem *ru-lam* zog ich (*sa-h*)", vgl. M. Pézard in *Babyloniaca*, 1924, 24; es ist wohl identisch mit *ri-lam* (CIE No. 38, Z.31): *i ri-lam sa-at-na* = "du mögest (nämlich Gott Insušnak) in dieses *rilam* (ein)ziehen!"

hu-ud-da-qa	(und) es ist getan worden!
(18) tar-ma-na d _{na} -pír mur-tak-ni	Beständig möge die Gottheit Wohnsitz behalten
a-ak [v _{ti}]-pi-ra	und von einem [Schrift]kundigen angefleht werden!
ku-ul-lak-na	
za-al-mu (19) pak-ni	Mein Bildwerk werde behütet!
vLAM v _{TI} d _{na} -pír šá-ra.ma da-ak-ni ¹	Segen(?) und Fürbitte(?) mögen unter die Gottheit gelegt werden!
a-ak ma?-ri-ip-ba v _{su} -am-(20)-mi-ip	Und die Gefangenen(?), die
ku-tur h _a -a-pír.ir-ra du-iš-ni	möge der Fürst von Aipir erhalten!
vLAM v _{TI} za-al-mu-me a-h	Durch Segen(?) und Fürbitte(?) möge mein Bildwerk hier beschirmt werden!
(21) ba-ak-ni	
MARlg f _{am} -ma-zí-ráš	Das möge (Frau) Amma-ziraš
h _a -a-pír.ir-ra du-iš-ni	von Aipir erhalten!
TIlg a-x-(22)-tan tuk-iš du-iš-ni	Durch Fürbitte(?) möge nach Wunsch erhalten!
LAMlg v _{ra} -gi-bal gi-li-ra du-iš-ni	Den Segen(?) möge der Minister (und) Befehlshaber erhalten!
LAMlg (23) ti-pi-ra ² ak-qa	Den Segen(?) möge ein Schriftkundiger,
za-al-mu be-ra-man.ra du-iš-ni	der mein Bildwerk liest, erhalten!
SAGlg šá-li-ha	Köpfe habe ich aufgespiesst,
sa ³ HAL(24)lg a-h iš-ha	Schamglieder(?) für das Land hier habe ich aufgereiht(?),
PIlg v _{ši} -in.šá-tin-be ta-iš-ni	Ohren(?) sollen die Mondpriester (?) darbringen!
v _{ra} -ba-áš NIM? i iš-ti.ú?-(25)-mi	Der . . . dies Elam? mein
ITUlg v _{za} -am-mi-ip ta-iš-ni	im Monat . . . mögen die . . . darbringen!

¹ Die Wendung TIlg d_{na}-pír šá-ra.ma da-ak-na findet sich auch in Z.12 Rev. der spätelamischen Bronzetafel-Inschrift aus Persepolis (a.a.O. Tafel 28; vgl. dazu G. G. Cameron, ebenda S.64/65).

² G. Hüsing (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 5 [1906], 405): "Der Schriftgelehrte, welcher die Stele liest".

³ Vgl. meine Ausführungen in *Arch. Or.*, 1950, 295.

ši-lam Hlg ¹ da-li-ip-be gi?-li?- Ungeziefer(?)
-(26)-ip hu-ma-ma-am-ba ta-iš-ni	nachdem sie an sich genommen haben, sollen sie darbringen!
v _{tuk} -ru-ku? ru-lam pa-muk	Der Kapelle(?)
áš.ku-tur lg(27)GUD.UD.ma
d _{bar} -ti ha-ti hu-ri-en-ra ²	Viehhüter für Rinder (?)
h _a -a-pír di-mc d _{UTU}	der (Göttin) Parti innig ergeben gehorehend(?).
mu-h-tú ku-ul-li-(28)-h	In Aipir (Gott)
hu-ut-tak-ni	Nahhunte
a-ak ak-qa-be gal-li a-pi.e	opfernd flehte ich an,
a-h da-ha ta-iš-ni	es möchte getan werden!
i-ni-iš (29) i-tak ku-iš	Und die, welche ihren Lohn, den ich hier hingelegt habe, darbringen mögen,
 Nachkommenschaft.
v _{ti} -pi-ra ku-ul-la-ma	Ein Schriftkundiger, der im Gebet
za-al-mu be-ra-an	mein Bildwerk liest,
ud-du-KI.MIN du-(30)-ha-tan	das Bauwerk lobt(?),
tuk-iš su-da-áš-ni	möge einen Wunsch erbitten!
d _{bar} -ti na-pír.ú.ri	O Parti, meine Göttin!
hu-ud-da-ha gal?-li ¹ g	Was ich geleistet, der Lohn davon
d _{te} -[ip-ti d]SIN [da-](31)-ak-ni	möge dem gnä[digen Herrn]
v _{nah} -ha-an-ti-ni te-na	Mondgott [darge]bracht sein!
ú tu ₄ -ru-uk-ni	Als einem Sonnengott-Anbeter (?) möge Huldreiches(?) mir gesagt werden!
ak-qa za-al-mu.me mi-ul-qa-man-ra	Wer mein Bildwerk verdirbt,
hi-[iš](32).ú.mi pi-ip-tu ₄ -šá	meinen Namen entfernt,
hi-iš du-hi.e a-ráš pi-it-te-ma-an-ra	seinen eigenen Namen als Besitz einheimst,

¹ Hlg kommt auch in dem von V. Scheil veröffentlichten Omentext (*Rev.d'Ass.*, 1917, 52) vor, wohl in der Bedeutung "insectes malfaisants".

² Richtige Lesung durch M. Rutten (*Mém. Mission Arch. en Iran XXXII*, Paris, 1953, 69).

ud-du-KI.MIN ap-pa a-h da-ha	das Bauwerk, das ich hier errichtet,
(33) la-ha-ma-an-ra ¹	betritt,
ik-be ra-gi-bal.me-na	die Spenden(?) des Ministers
du-šá	an sich nimmt,
i mu-ma-ra-te x-ba-an-ra	diese seine Weihgaben(?) entwen-
	det(?),
HA (34) dGAL.na	der werde vom Fluch des (Gottes)
	Humban,
dki-ri-iš-šá.na dte-ip-ti	der (Göttin) Kirišša, des gnädigen
	Herrn (des Gottes Tirutir),
Alg KIlg ² ku-tu-iš-da.na	der Wasser und Erde geschaffen
	hat,
šá-h-[da-ni]-qa? (35) da-ak-ni	bis in die Ferne getroffen! ³
ša ki-iz-za-qa dbar-ti.na	Dem soll das Heiltum(?) der Parti
i-ma hu-ma-ak-ni	hier entzogen werden!
sa.e dSIN a-ak d(36)UTU ⁴ šá-	Sein Glied(?) werde unter Mond
ra.ma	und Sonne
máš-si-ik-ni ku-iš [a-nu ku-tu-	abgeschnitten! Nachkommen-
un]	schaft [soll er nicht zustandebrin-
	gen!]

II(c): *Beischriften*

auf dem Relief oben links in der Felsschlucht von Šekāf-e Salmān; links Hanne, rechts eine Frau, dazwischen ein Kind (vgl. Tafel 25 und 32a in *MDP* III, Paris, 1901).

Beischrift des Kindes: za-še-h-ši? (nach V. Scheil) vha-an-ni pa-ak-ri = "Zašehši(?), Hannes Tochter".

Beischrift der Frau: fam-ma-te-na vha-an-ni ru-tú-ri = "Ammatena, Hannes Gattin".

¹ Dass der Stamm *la-ha-* nicht nur "sterben" bedeuten kann, geht z.B. auch aus der Inschrift des Atta-Hamiti-Insušnak hervor (*Z.* 7, vgl. M. Pézard in *Babyl.*, 1924, 8), wo Gott Insušnak als *te-ip-ti ku-uk-in-nu-um la-ha-ak.ra* bezeichnet ist, was doch nur bedeuten dürfte: "der in den Hochtempel eingegangene gnädige Herr".

² Richtige Lesung durch M. Rutten (a.a.O. S. 66).

³ Vgl. auch *ZA*, 1952, 243-5.

⁴ So lese ich jetzt—entgegen *Arch. Or.*, 1950, 295, wo ich auf G. Hüsing, *OLZ*, 1904, Sp. 440 fusste, und auch entgegen M. Pézard, *Babyl.*, 1924, 17 Anm. 2; Pézard hat allerdings V. Scheil's Versehen richtiggestellt ("il y a Sin, non Nahunte").

A MEDIEVAL INTERPOLATION SCHEME USING SECOND ORDER DIFFERENCES

By E. S. KENNEDY

Introduction

The power and elegance of computational algorithms developed by Islamic mathematicians of the ninth through the fifteenth centuries has only recently come to be appreciated, largely through the work of the late Paul Luckey. The most successful of these computers was the Iranian scientist, Jamshīd Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī (d.1429), who worked at the Samarqand observatory of Sultan Ulugh Beg.

We present here a method described by Kāshī for solving a problem which arose in the computation of planetary ephemerides. What is desired is a table giving the true longitude of a planet on successive days. A full computation for each day would be laborious, and for the slower objects he suggests computing longitudes at intervals of, say, ten days only. Positions for the intervening days are then to be approximated by some relatively simple interpolation device. When the planet's motion exhibits considerable angular acceleration Kāshī prescribes a method he calls by an Arabic title *qaws al-ikhtilāf*, the "difference arc". There is no indication as to whether it is his own invention or was already well-known in his time.

Put in modern terms, if the longitude function is plotted against time, it amounts to passing a parabola through the three points determined by the planet's already computed longitude on (1) the day the interval commences, (2) the preceding day, and (3) the day the interval ends. It approximates to the method of passing a smooth curve through a set of points whose abscissas are equally spaced, by piecing together a succession of parabolic arcs through the points, each arc tangent to the preceding one.

The Source

The method is described in a passage on folio 81r of the India Office

Persian MS 430 (Ethé 2232), one of two extant complete copies of Kāshī's astronomical handbook, the *Zīj-i Khāqānī*.

Translation

In the passage translated below numbers in parentheses indicate the beginnings of lines in the Persian text. The Persian-Arabic word *buht* means longitudinal speed, here in degrees per day. It is from the Sanskrit *bhukti*.

(Line 6) . . . That ten days, (7) or whatever it is which occurs between the two longitude (computations), we have called the increment. So we divide the motion of the planet in each increment by the number of that (8) increment, so that the daily *buht* results, and that we call the mean *buht*. With that *buht* we advance the true longitude of the (9) planet in that time, so that the true longitude for each day results. But if the mean *buht* (10) of one increment is much different from the mean *buht* of another increment, one must operate with the difference arc. (11) That is thus: that we add one to the number of the increment, and we take half of that amount, and that (12) we call the preserved (number). And we obtain the difference between the preceding *buht*, i.e. the *buht* of the last day of the past increment and the mean *buht*, (13) and we divide it by the preserved (amount). The quotient we call the equation of the *buht*, and if the number of the increment is even we divide (14) the double of the difference by the double of the preserved (amount) so that it will be easier. Then, if the (new) mean *buht* is more than (15) the preceding (day's) *buht*, we add the equation of the *buht* to the previous *buht*, and (this is continued) one time after another; otherwise we subtract it (16) one time after another, so that the distance and the increments of the successive *buhts* differing by that amount result, and the measure of (17) the correctness of this operation is this, that the sum of the *buht* of the first day of the increment and of the last day of the increment should be equal to the double of the (18) mean *buht*. Also, if the number of the period is an odd integer, the *buht* of the middle day should be the mean *buht* (19) exactly. Then, if the planet is in forward motion, we proceed with the days of the increment with those *buhts* in such fashion that we add every (20) *buht* to the true longitude of the preceding day, so that the longitude(s) for the day(s), one after another, result. But if the (21) planet is in retrograde motion we subtract each *buht* from the true

longitude of the previous day that the (longitudes of the) succeeding days will result.

Commentary

Let the number of days in the increment be p , and let the true longitude at, say, noon of the initial day be λ_0 , that of the following noon λ_1 , and so on. The method assumes that λ_{-1} , the longitude for the preceding day, as well as λ_0 and λ_p , have already been determined. Values are sought for $\lambda_1, \lambda_2, \lambda_3, \dots, \lambda_{p-1}$. We adopt the customary notation, $\Delta\lambda_n = \lambda_{n+1} - \lambda_n$.

The mean *buht* (line 12) is

$$\overline{\Delta\lambda} = \frac{\lambda_p - \lambda_0}{p}.$$

The text next prescribes that if successive values of $\overline{\Delta\lambda}$ differ markedly, the "difference arc" interpolation scheme is to be applied; otherwise the daily longitudes are inserted linearly between the already computed endpoints.

In the former case, form the "preserved (number)", (line 11),

$$q = \frac{p+1}{2}$$

and then the "equation of the *buht*"

$$e = \frac{\overline{\Delta\lambda} - \Delta\lambda_{-1}}{q}.$$

In the event that p is even, q will be a fraction. To avoid this, both the denomination and numerator of e are in this case to be doubled.

Now form the λ 's by employing e as a constant second difference

$$\Delta^2\lambda_n = \Delta\lambda_{n+1} - \Delta\lambda_n = e, \quad n = -1, 0, 1, 2, \dots, p-2.$$

This is equivalent to Kāshī's statement (line 15) that to obtain the *buht* of each day add the equation of the *buht* to the *buht* of the preceding day. We note that since the second order differences are constant the λ 's resulting from the scheme must be along a parabola having its axis vertical.

Summing between the limits of $n = -1$ and $n = m$ we obtain

$$\Delta\lambda_m - \Delta\lambda_{-1} = (m+1)e, \quad \text{or} \quad \Delta\lambda_m = \Delta\lambda_{-1} + (m+1)e.$$

Summation of the second expression above from $m = 0$ to $m = k-1$ gives

$$\lambda_k - \lambda_0 = k \Delta \lambda_{-1} + \frac{k(k+1)}{2} e,$$

or successive daily positions of the planet are given by

$$(1) \quad \lambda_k = \lambda_0 + k \Delta \lambda_{-1} + \frac{k(k+1)}{2} e,$$

which depends only on λ_{-1} , λ_0 , and e .

On the right-hand side of this expression put $k = p$ and substitute for e its defined value. We obtain

$$\begin{aligned} \lambda_0 + p \Delta \lambda_{-1} + \frac{p(p+1)}{2} \cdot \frac{\overline{\Delta \lambda} - \Delta \lambda_{-1}}{q} = \\ \lambda_0 + p \Delta \lambda_{-1} + \frac{p(p+1)}{2} \cdot \frac{2}{p+1} (\overline{\Delta \lambda} - \Delta \lambda_{-1}) = \\ \lambda_0 + p \Delta \lambda_{-1} + p \left(\frac{\lambda_p - \lambda_0}{p} - \Delta \lambda_{-1} \right) = \lambda_p, \end{aligned}$$

which shows that the parabola passes through the point computed beforehand for the last day of the increment.

Kāshī's lack of negative numbers obliges him to give special explanations for cases of negative acceleration (line 15) and negative displacement (line 21).

Put into modern symbols, his numerical check (line 17) asserts that

$$\Delta \lambda_0 + \Delta \lambda_{p-1} = 2 \overline{\Delta \lambda}.$$

The left-hand side becomes, by use of expression (1) above,

$$\lambda_0 - \lambda_{-1} + e + \lambda_0 - \lambda_{-1} + p e = 2 \Delta \lambda_{-1} + (p+1) \cdot \frac{2}{p+1} (\overline{\Delta \lambda} - \Delta \lambda_{-1}),$$

which is equal to the right-hand side.

When p is odd the middle day will be $(p-1)/2$. Then line 18 asserts that

$$\Delta \lambda_{(p-1)/2} = \overline{\Delta \lambda}.$$

Again using expression (1) the left-hand side becomes

$$\Delta \lambda_{-1} + \left(\frac{p-1}{2} + 1 \right) e = \Delta \lambda_{-1} + \frac{p+1}{2} \cdot \frac{2}{p+1} \left(\frac{\lambda_p - \lambda_0}{p} - \Delta \lambda_{-1} \right),$$

which reduces to the right-hand side.

THE MERCHANT IN MEDIEVAL ISLAM

By A. K. S. LAMBTON

Trade was already important in the Middle East in pre-Islamic times and urban life highly developed. The growth of towns continued under the Muslims, conditions in the medieval Middle East offering a striking contrast in this respect to conditions in medieval Europe.¹ The importance of the merchant in the life of the early Islamic community, however, was to some extent obscured by the fact that tribal tradition played a dominant part in laying down social ideals and tribal lineage gave social status and because, in the eastern provinces, the Zoroastrian religion held the merchant in contempt. On the other hand the anti-ascetic attitude of Islam contributed to the growth of the merchant community and helped to raise the status of the merchant. Man's salvation was, broadly speaking, to be ensured, not by withdrawal from the world, though there arose, in fact, a strong tendency towards such withdrawal, but by integrity and moderation in the conduct of the affairs of this world. In the course of time an elaborate law in respect of trade based chiefly on *ḥadīth*, spurious and otherwise, was evolved. The Quranic prohibition on usury was in the main circumvented by devices (*hiyal*); and money-lending flourished at high rates of interest. A profit in money-changing (*ṣarf*) was similarly made possible.² But the '*ulamā*', because of the Quranic prohibition on usury, condemned the activities of money-changers and for the most part money-changing was in the hands of the Jewish community. Jews, Christians, and, to a lesser extent, Zoroastrians also played a disproportionately large part in the field of large-scale trade since this involved dealing in credit, which was difficult without usury. Nevertheless trade was regarded as honourable

¹ The important role played by towns in Islamic civilization has long since been pointed out. See C. Cahen, *Zur Geschichte der städtischen Gesellschaft im islamischen Orient des Mittelalters* in *Saeculum*, Bd. ix, Ht. 1.

² See article on *Ribā* in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leyden, 1913-).

and the honourable merchant as worthy of esteem.¹ Moreover, when in the course of time Islamic government began to diverge increasingly from the ideal and the pious shrank from government service so the respect in which the merchant was held tended to increase.

Jāhīz in an essay in praise of trade and censure of the service of sultans ('*amal as-sultān*') maintains that merchants were held in high estimation and that people of discrimination considered them to be the most pious members of the community and their life to be the most secure; they were in their houses like kings on their thrones, the people seeking them out to satisfy their needs. Merchants, he points out, were not bound to humble themselves as were those who undertook the service of sultans; and they were not under obligations as were the servants of sultans, who went in fear and humiliation and were forced to stoop to flattery.² He recalls that the Prophet Muḥammad had been a merchant for part of his life and alleges that trade had been the occupation of the forefathers of the Muslims.³ He then refutes the allegation that trade detracted from learning and maintains that merchants had excelled in all branches of learning.⁴

Two theories of trade became current in the medieval Muslim world, one praising wealth for its own sake and deriving from Hellenic sources and the other deriving from, or adapted to, Islam, based on the assumption that this world was a preparation for the next and that man should so conduct himself in this world as to ensure his salvation in the next. One of the fullest expositions of the former is to be found in the *Kitāb al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsīn at-Tijāra* of Abū'l Faḍl Ja'far b. 'Alī ad-Dimishqī, who lived some time between 250/864-5 and 570/1174-5. Chapter I of this work, which is a practical manual for merchants, concerns the essence of wealth (*fi haqīqat al-māl*); it is followed by chapters on the excellencies of wealth and the need for money; the way to test gold; various commodities and their prices; ways of distinguishing bad merchandise from good; crafts and industries; advice to merchants; the excellence of trade; the duties of the three classes of merchants (travelling merchants, wholesalers, and exporting merchants); warnings against tricksters; the administration

¹ See article on *Tijāra* in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

² *Majmū'at Rasā'il* (Egypt, n.d.), p. 156.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

of wealth; and the need to protect wealth, which urges the reader not to lay out more than, or as much as, he made, not to undertake something which he could not accomplish, not to lay out his money on something which gave slow returns, and to beware of greed, meanness, waste, "moneyed show", and bad or careless administration; and lastly a chapter illustrated by quotations from *belles lettres* containing exhortations not to squander wealth but to use it rightly.¹

Ritter points out that the economic part of ad-Dimishqī's work is influenced by Plato's *Politics* and neo-pythagorean sources, in particular Bryson;² and in the chapter on prices, which stresses the golden mean, he sees the influence of Aristotelian theory.³ The last two chapters put forward a practical mercantile wisdom, honourable but in the last resort egotistical. In ad-Dimishqī's picture of the ideal merchant, however, the influence of the religious ethic can to some extent be seen.⁴

The ethical theory of trade, which offers a contrast to the theory just considered is set forth in the *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* and the *Kīmīyā as-Sa'ādat* of Ghazālī⁵ and the *Mirṣād al-'Ibād min al-Mabda' ilā Ma'ād* of Najm ad-Dīn Rāzī. Ghazālī writes

"Know that since the world is a stage on the road to the next world and man has need of food and clothing, which can only be acquired by trade (*kasb*), he must know what is proper to the conduct of trade, because whoever gives himself wholly to the trade of this world will be unfortunate, whereas he who gives himself wholly to the next world and relies upon God is blessed. However, the happy mean is that he should concern himself both with his livelihood in this world and his life in the next world; [but in this] his object must be

¹ H. Ritter, Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft in *Der Islam*, Bd. vii, Ht.1, pp. 3-4.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 8ff. See also M. Plessner, *Der Oikonomikos des Neupythagoreers "Bryson" und sein Einfluss auf die islamische Wissenschaft* (Heidelberg, 1928).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴ The theory underlying Kay Kā'ūs' advice to his son, should the latter follow the career of a merchant, approximates to the theory which praises wealth for its own sake rather than to the ethical theory. The chapter on being a merchant, like much of the rest of the *Qābūs Nāma*, is an odd mixture of expediency, egoism, and Islamic ethics (ed. R. Levy, Gibb Memorial Series, 1951, pp. 95-100).

⁵ The account in the *Kīmīyā as-Sa'ādat* is considerably shorter than that in the *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*. There are minor differences between the two accounts. For a brief summary of the latter see the article on *Tijāra* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; and also H. Ritter, *op. cit.*, pp. 31ff.

the next life, the attention which he gives to the acquisition of his livelihood being merely to the end that he should be free to care for the next life."¹

Five chapters follow on (i) the excellency and rightness of trade, (ii) the conditions which must be fulfilled if transactions are to be valid, (iii) the need for equity in transactions, (iv) the righteousness which lies beyond equity, and (v) the need for the exercise in transactions of the compassion demanded by religion. It is clear that Ghazālī has in mind primarily, or indeed wholly, the small merchant and not the large-scale trader. He does not specifically rule out the latter, but lays down certain conditions which make large-scale trading difficult. He was concerned with the earning of a livelihood through trade and not with the activities of buying and selling *per se*.

Discussing the excellency of trade Ghazālī states "Know that to provide for one's family so that they may not need anything from the community and to provide for them by lawful trade (*kasb*) is [to be reckoned as] a form of *jihād*". This is, incidentally, an interesting example of the transfer of *jihād* from the sphere of actual warfare to everyday life. "And," continues Ghazālī, "it (trade) is more excellent than many acts of worship [as the following incident shows]. One day the Prophet, upon whom and whose family be peace, was sitting down. A robust young man passed by in the early morning on his way to a shop in the bazaar. The Companions of the Prophet said 'What a pity he has not got up in the early morning to worship God!' The Prophet, upon whom be peace, said, 'Do not speak thus. If he is going in order to provide for his needs so that he may not need anything from the community, or similarly to provide for the needs of his father and mother or wife and children, he is worshipping God, but if he is going for the purpose of self-indulgence, self-glorification, or riches, then he is worshipping the devil'."² After relating more Traditions and anecdotes Ghazālī concludes that only for him who had sufficient to provide for the sustenance of himself and his family was prayer better than trade, and the only trade which had no excellence was that trade which was designed to provide more than a sufficiency for him who practised it. Such trade was, indeed, harmful since it involved a fixing of one's heart on this world, which was the

greatest of all sins. Trade for the ordinary man was desirable, but it was better that the man who had no wealth but whose sustenance was provided for from the proceeds of *awqāf* should not trade. It was also better that the following should not indulge in trade: those who were engaged in the pursuit of a branch of knowledge from which the people would derive religious benefit, such as the religious sciences, or worldly benefit, such as medicine; those holding the office of *qādī* or engaged in the administration of *awqāf* and matters concerning the public interest; those with an inclination towards the Ṣūfī "states"; and those engaged in prayer in a hospice.¹

The second chapter concerns those conditions which must be fulfilled for transactions to be valid in the light of the *sharī'a*, and is devoted to those minutiae which may, to the non-Muslim, seem unreal, but which were of vital importance to the Muslim merchant in order to enable him to carry on mercantile operations without transgressing the letter of the law and violating the dictates of his conscience.² In the third chapter Ghazālī states that any transaction involving usury or inflicting loss upon Muslims was cursed by God. He specifically mentions hoarding and cornering. No deceit in the description of goods was to be indulged in and a fair price only was to be asked.³ He lays down in Chapter Four that undue profit was not to be sought; the goods of the poor, such as the thread spun by widows or fruit sold by children and the poor was to be bought at a higher price than would be normally given in order to make their sellers happy. Kindness was to be shown when exacting payment by reducing the price, accepting broken or chipped coins (?), and in according time for payment; and by the prompt repayment of loans. In cases where a transaction had been concluded and the other party regretted it, it was praiseworthy, though not obligatory, to cancel the transaction. Further, if something was sold to a poor man on credit, payment for it should not be demanded until he had the wherewithal to pay for it.⁴

In Chapter Five Ghazālī states that whosoever occupied himself with the commerce of this world to the exclusion of the next would be miserable. He lays down seven precautions to be observed by whoever

¹ *Ḳīmīyā as-Sa'ādat* (lith., Bombay), p. 132.

² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 133ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 141ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-6.

engaged in trade. (i) Every morning he should renew his resolve to go to the bazaar merely to obtain sustenance for himself and his family and having done that to devote himself to the worship of God; to treat the people with compassion; and to carry out the duty of all Muslims, namely to exhort men to righteousness and forbid them from evil. (ii) He should realise that life was only made possible by a division of labour and co-operation and he should therefore go to the bazaar in the resolve that the life of the Muslims should be made easy by his efforts and resolved to undertake some necessary occupation and not one that was merely a luxury such as that of a goldsmith, painter, or plasterer. Ghazālī then mentions certain trades which were forbidden and others which were undesirable. Among the latter he numbers money-changing, which, he alleges, was difficult to undertake without usury. (iii) Whoever earned his living in the bazaar should resolve that the commerce of this world should not keep him from caring for the next world and attendance at the mosque; (iv) that he would practise the remembrance of God while in the bazaar; and (v) that he would not be unduly eager to make a profit in his transactions in the bazaar or undertake long and dangerous journeys, because to undertake such was "the extremity of greed".¹ (vi) Whoever went to the bazaar to earn his living should resolve to avoid any transactions of a doubtful nature. In the case of a transaction which appeared to be doubtful he should, if he was a man of religion, appeal to his own conscience and not to a *mufī*. He should also refrain from all transactions with tyrants or those connected with them. Here Ghazālī points out the dilemma of the believer in a world given over to evil. Some, he writes, maintained that in the light of this prohibition no trade at all could be carried out; he refutes this view and states that it was merely necessary to exercise due precaution. (vii) Whoever would occupy himself in commerce should resolve to be honest in his dealings.²

Najm ad-Dīn Rāzī, like Ghazālī, considers those who looked upon the commerce of this world as an end in itself to be blameworthy. The merchant, if he was to carry on commerce with the next world in view, subordinating the concerns of this world to those of the next, to associate with prophets and saints, and to attain to the status

¹ It may be that this prejudice against sea journeys, which is found in some other writers also, was a contributory factor in the transfer of the carrying trade in the Mediterranean to non-Muslims.

² *Kīmīyā as-Sa'ādat*, pp. 147ff.

of a true man, should make piety his inner and outer garment. He should consider all wealth (*māl*) to belong to God; and resolve to take possession of it for the benefit of the servants of God in accordance with the command and to the satisfaction of God and devote any profit deriving therefrom to the servants of God, among whom were numbered himself and his family. He should observe equity in his dealings, buy and sell on easy terms, and carry goods from city to city thus providing for the needs of the people so that they could worship with their minds at rest. He should be satisfied with a small profit. Slaves should not be bought and sold. Wherever he went he should visit the tombs of pious and holy men.¹ Najm ad-Dīn thus looks at trade in the light of its contribution to the achievement of religious ends. There is no hint in his exposition of the excellency of wealth for its own sake; trade is regarded merely as a means of furthering the ultimate aims for the securing of which the Muslim community exists.

It would not perhaps be unreasonable to seek the influence of these two theories on society at two different levels. The theory which praises wealth as a good in itself was presumably predominantly, though not exclusively, the ethic of the large-scale merchant. On the other hand the influence of the ethical theory of trade can perhaps be seen in the organization of the craft guilds and their connexion with the Ṣūfī orders. The information available on these matters and the position and status of the merchant in society is, however, mainly of an incidental nature. In the expositions of the philosophers the merchants are placed after the religious classes, the military, and the bureaucracy; the artisans are ranked with or after the merchants.² Mention of the merchant classes in dynastic and local histories and biographical dictionaries is meagre—which is in itself perhaps a comment on the status which they held in society. The *muḥtasib* literature describes, among other things, the fraudulent practices of merchants. The geographers, while they are a rich source of information on the subject of trade routes and manufactures, tell us little of the merchants themselves.

All those concerned with the supply of provisions and in manufacture and trade appear to have been organized from early times into

¹ Ed. Ḥusām al-Ḥusaynī an-Ni'matullāhī, Tehran, 1933–4, pp. 299–300.

² See my inaugural lecture *Islamic Society in Persia* (School of Oriental and African Studies, 1954).

gilds, including the money-changers and goldsmiths, who were always, or nearly always, located in the centre of the bazaar. There is no evidence that there was an original joint gild to which both merchants and artisans belonged. The main purposes of this gild organization were two: first individuals by their association together were more easily able to resist demands by the government, in other words the gild organization was a measure of self-help; and secondly—and here a parallel is to be sought with the Byzantine empire with its autocratic centralization—the gild organization was, somewhat paradoxically, encouraged by the government to facilitate its control of economic life, the collection of taxes, and the performance of corvées. Merchant gilds comparable to those in western Europe did not exist; but the merchants nevertheless played an important role in society, especially in the provision of funds. This function was also performed by *jahbadha* who were, on the one hand, bankers of a sort and on the other “official money-changers cum sureties, who verified and standardized by exchange the different types of currency, good and bad, paid by the taxpayers in return for a small percentage collected as a supplementary tax from the latter”.¹ It is difficult to draw a clear distinction between the *jahbadh* in his capacity of banker and the large-scale merchant because business in money and business in goods were closely connected throughout the middle ages in the Middle East as in Europe. Both classes engaged in mercantile and money transactions and the origin of the wealth of many *jahbadha* was probably trade. Their activities included the administration, remittance, and supply of funds.

A *jahbadh* is mentioned in Arabic sources of the time of al-Manṣūr (136/754–158/775). By the fourth/tenth century the *jahbadha* had become a numerous community. The diversity of coins in circulation and the fluctuation in their value and the replacement of the silver standard by the gold meant that the *jahbadha* played an important and necessary part in the tax collection.² Moreover in addition there was, according to Fischel, at this time a “prodigious desire to accumulate money” and people began to deposit their money with,

among others, merchants, money-changers, and *jahbadha*; but these transactions were seldom entered in the books for fear of confiscation by the government.³ The money thus deposited was in all probability used by them to finance their own mercantile and other activities.⁴ Fischel quotes three instances of the extension of credit to the state by *jahbadha*, one a loan negotiated by the wazīr, Ibn Furāt, probably about 311/923 from Joseph b. Phineas, and two negotiated by the wazīr, ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā, from Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amrān.⁵ On another occasion, probably about 301/913 ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā also applied to them for a loan and pledged as security uncashed letters of credit (*suftaja*) and made arrangements for the payment of interest.⁶ At-Tannūkhī in connexion with one of these loans negotiated by ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā writes, “For they (Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amrān) were never dismissed until their death; and they were appointed in the days of ‘Ubaidallah b. Yaḥyā al-Khāqānī. The Caliph did not want to dismiss them, in order to uphold the dignity of the office of jahbadh in the eyes of the merchants, so that the merchants might be ready to lend their money through the jahbadh if necessary. Were a jahbadh to be dismissed and another appointed in his place with whom the merchants had not yet had any dealings, the business of the Caliph would come to a standstill”.⁷

Meanwhile, however, partly because of the breakdown in the financial administration of the ‘Abbasid empire the practice of tax-farming spread and a tendency arose towards a confusion of the functions of the merchant, the landowner, the government official, and the tax-farmer and a concentration of their various functions in one person, which upset the balance of society and the administration. The results of this were not, perhaps, immediately apparent: “the economic and cultural revival which had followed the ‘Abbasid accession based on the exploitation of the resources of the Empire through industry and trade”⁸ continued. Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions that there were two hundred money-changers in Iṣfahān in 444/1052.⁹ But with the increased militarisation of the state in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries there was a general tendency for the position and

¹ W. J. Fischel, pp. 13–15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 23–4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶ See article on ‘Abbasids in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

⁷ *Safar-Nāma* (ed. Schefer, Persian text), p. 92.

¹ See article on *Bayt al-Māl* in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

² W. J. Fischel, *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Medieval Islam* (Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1937), pp. 3–4. See also C. Cahen, *Quelques problèmes économiques et fiscaux de l’Irāq Buyide* in *Annales de l’Institut d’Études Orientales*, vol. x, 1952, pp. 338ff. and 353ff.

status of the merchants, like that of other classes, to be depressed; and with the decline in economic prosperity which took place in the 6th/13th century the importance of the *jahbadha* decreased until they finally disappeared as a special class, the functions which they had formerly performed being carried out, so far as these functions continued to exist, by the merchants and money-changers. Throughout the later middle ages the role of these two groups was not unimportant. The government in large measure relied on them for the provision of loans in times of crisis; and this to some extent limited the extortion to which they were subject. A close connexion often existed between the merchant classes, the bureaucracy, and the landowners.¹

In this brief outline I have attempted to show that the merchant played a vital part in the economic life of the lands of the Eastern Caliphate in the middle ages. On the other hand there is little or no evidence—at least in the present state of our knowledge—to show that the merchant class was a force making for significant change within society. I would suggest that the reasons for this, at least in part, are to be found in the ideal set out by Islamic theorists, which looked to the craftsman and the small merchant rather than the large-scale merchant, and in the generally levelling tendencies of Turkish military government, the confusion of the functions of the tax-farmer, government official, landowner, merchant, and banker, and the restriction placed in practice on the fields in which the citizen was able to exercise his civic functions. These tendencies militated against, if they did not actually prevent, the emergence of strong merchant guilds and merchant companies and with them a strong middle class. Further, it may have been due in part to the general failure of the merchant to give a lead that factional strife and mob uprisings were a common feature of life in the towns of the Islamic Middle East and civic institutions were slow to develop.²

¹ In nineteenth century Persia the merchants played an important part in financing the activities of the government; and the payment of the revenue quota due from a provincial governor had in some cases to be guaranteed by a merchant before the governor designate set out for his government.

² See, however, C. Cahen, *Zur Geschichte der städtischen Gesellschaft im islamischen Orient des Mittelalters*, for a discussion of various forms of association in the medieval Islamic town.

YIMA AND KHVARENAH IN THE AVESTAN GATHAS

By WOLFGANG LENTZ

Yima, Modern Persian Jam or Jamshid, is well known in the epic tradition of Iran as the first man and the first king. He generally is reported to occur once in the Zarathushtrian Gathas, Yasna 32.8, in a polemic by the prophet against inducing people to eat portions of meat.

Khvarenah, Modern Persian *farr* and *xura*, mostly rendered by “glory”, more recently by “fortune”, was considered to be lacking in the Gathas and to be represented only by an adjective *x^varəna* in Yasna 51.18.

The two stanzas run as follows:

aēšqm aēnayham vīvayhušō srāvī yimascīte
yā mašyāng cixšnušō ahmākēng gāuš bagā x^varəmnō
aēšqmciš ā ahmī θwahnī mazdā vīciθōi aipī

32.8

tqm cistīm dājāmāspō hvō.gvō ištōiš x^varəna
ašā vərəntē taš xšaθrəm manayhō vayhəuš⁺ vīdō
taš mōi dāidī ahurā hyaš mazdā rapōn tavā

51.18

Helmut Humbach, in his new translation of the Gathas, has, however, clarified the interpretation of *x^varəmnō* by relating it etymologically to English “to swear”, mythologically with the “lie” of Yima recorded in the Younger Avesta, Yasht 19, 33 sq. From 32.7 he concludes an ordeal against Yima, and therefrom a technical use of the Passive of *srav-* “to hear” which would be attested in these two stanzas only: “zur Aussage gebracht werden”. But the rich tradition on this mythic figure does not know anything of such a procedure, and the Passive of *srav-* is quite normal for becoming known by the

popular epics. Humbach understands correctly *gāuš* as a Nom. Sing. and *bagā* as an Instr. Sing., adheres, however, to the usual interpretation of the latter as "portion" with the connotation of "Glücksgabe". Yasht 19.33 sq. has been elucidated long ago by the famous report in the Shahnama on Jam's lie: the claim of himself being the creator of the world which had been embellished by his works of civilization before.

Yasna 32.5 sqq. deal with the evil actions by which a *dragvant-*, a liar, seduced by the Daevas, can be recognized. Some of them become apparent by ordeal, and the Wise Lord always knows (or: finds) best the "remainder"—i.e. the slightest trace—of them (7). In opposition to ordeals Yima's lie became obvious by the punishment immediately following its revelation through an utterance, when the *x^varənah-* left him in the shape of a bird. The content of that utterance is hidden in the Instr. *bagā* which belongs syntactically to *x^vārəmnū*, also by the order of words, and is used in an explicative sense here. It is *baga-/baya* "god", which for unknown reasons has been contested in the Avestan vocabulary for a couple of decades. The stanza, then, can be understood in the following way:

"(It is by one) of these transgressions (that) even Yima, the son of Vivahvan, became known,
who tried to compel our (fellow-country)men to do obeisance by protesting himself to be God, the bull.
Even with the (remainder) of these transgressions (it happens) to (us) according to thine decision, O Wise one."

However, the first man is mentioned in another Gathic passage, Yasna 30.3. The much discussed stanza is this:

*aṭ tā mainyū paouruyē⁺ yā yəmā x^vafnā⁺ asrvātəm
manahicā vacahicā šyaothanōi hī vahyō akəmčā
āscā hudāphō ərəš višyātā nōit duždāphō*

30.3

Here also Humbach has paved the way for a better understanding of the context by eliminating allusions to the cosmogony and stating that the first half of the Gatha deals with man in a decision of his conscience. Later on, Humbach marred this insight by specifying that conflict as one between different ways of offering. Linguistically, he leaves the Acc. Du. *hī* in b untranslated, which shows that the duals of the stanza do not stand on the same grammatical level. The *mainyū*

are the object of an act of discrimination by the *yəmā*, which, through an extension of the number of the finite verb similar to that in 5c, can be inferred from *višyātā* "they went on to discriminate" in 3c. *x^vafnā* that has caused so much trouble to both ancient and modern interpreters points to Yima's incest attested in Pahlavi:

"(Now) then, (as to) the two primeval spiritual forces, (already) the twins (Yima and his sister), who have become known by their sleep(ing together),
(went on to discriminate between) either of them, the better and the evil one, in (their) thought, speech and action,
but (only) those who stand by the good one of both, not those, who stand by the evil one, went on (since ever) to discriminate rightly."

In 51.18 Humbach understands correctly *x^varənā* as an Acc. Plur. and *rapən* as an Iptv. Sing., but he fails to recognize that here the mythical force is set in relationship to a number of outstanding Gathic technical terms by way of antitheses.

"(It is) this knowledge (which) Jamaspa Hvogva chooses for himself with (the help of) truth
out of (his) search for supernatural forces of enlightenment, that power of finding the good mind:
bestow that (also) upon me, O wise helper, which is thine."

A detailed justification of the above interpretation will be given elsewhere. I beg, however, to submit briefly that there seems to me no difference in substance between the treatment of the two, Yima and Khvarenah, in the Gathas and the Younger Avesta. If this view holds good, there may be a way to stop the growing tendency in our field to atomization of the Avestan teaching into ever more separate Iranian religions.

I at least can see no hostility on the prophet's side against the old myths. On the contrary, he uses them as illustrations for his own preaching. Perhaps he is even responsible for a development of those myths out of the common Indo-Iranian heritage or for using features that we do not know about from the Indian tradition, but which may be alluded to in it, too, without having been correctly evaluated as yet.

The old combination of *x^varənah-* with Vedic *svārṇara* should not be neglected. According to Heinrich Lüders the Indian term designates the fountain in the highest heaven sending out heavenly

waters in which *rtā* "the truth" floats as a light mass. Harold Walter Bailey—following a direction indicated by Karl Friedrich Geldner—has explained *x^varənah-* as belonging to Mod. Pers. *x^vardan* in a general sense of "to take", which, by the way, survives in an expression like (*bi-*)*zamīn x^vardan* "to fall down", lit. "to grasp the soil". This, however, does not imply a basic material signification of the word upon which the British scholar puts so much emphasis in attributing every hint at a spiritual level to later, although early priestly speculation.

Already Avestan (*ham-*)*grab*, Sanskr. *gr̥bh*, means not only "to seize" but also "to conceive, to comprehend", Sogd. *γrb* "to know". Similarly is *x^varənah-* "Greifen" in the sense of "Begreifen" as the magic power of enlightenment. Semantically it stands quite near to *rayay-* (perhaps also to Gathic *rāy-*) with which it is often connected in the Younger Avesta and which, then, as the "power of the intellect" does not represent Lat. *res*, but Lat. *reor*, *ratio*; cf. Turf. Mid. Pers. *r'y*, Mod. Pers. *rāy* in a semantic overlapping with Arab. *ra'y* (the latter already stated by Walter Bruno Henning).

It seems, as if a similar meaning applies even to some Rigvedic passages with *svārṇara*. *Rta* floating in an "outflow" of *svārṇara* suggests a mythologization of this idea. Such is certainly true of the story of the unworthy who according to Yasht 19 try in vain to grasp the *x^varənah-* that would ensure to them possession of the truth. For them the force of enlightenment is *ax^varəta* "incomprehensible", which term may thus point to the magic character of that force.

In the Rigveda Yima's counterpart *Yama* is led into temptation by his twin sister *Yamī*. This situation was taken by Zarathushtra as a model for men standing at the crossroads between good and evil, so far as their relationships on earth are concerned. By connecting Yima with the concept of Khvarenah the first man could be shown in his relation to the Godhead to have been tempted by his hybris.

In the Gathas this occurs in the form of a hymn intended for a circle of initiates; they were to preserve the wording, including the dialect of the prophet. The treatment in the Yashts, and similar passages in Videvdāt 2, seem to be intended for the common man. Such texts, therefore, had to be transmitted in popular language and may have been enriched by some detail or other in the course of the tradition.

KANZ AL-QĀFIYAH [or AL-QAWĀFĪ]

BY 'ALĪ 'IZZ AL-DĪN BAHRĀMĪ-YI SARAKHSĪ

By R. LEVY

A small manuscript of fifty folios in the India Office Library (D.P. 1217), probably dating from the seventeenth century, contains the text of a Persian rhyming dictionary by Shaikh 'Alī 'Izz al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī, who can with little doubt be identified with the poet known as Bahrāmī. The work is mentioned by Niẓāmī-yi 'Arūḍī in the *Chahār Maqālāh* (ed. Mirzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī, Gibb Series, p. 30) as *Kanz al-qāfiyah*, as also in Mirzā Muḥammad's preface to the *Mu'jam fī ma'āyīr ash'ār al-'ajam* by Shamsi Qays (Gibb Series, p. XIII), although in the present manuscript the title given to it is *Kanz al-qawāfī*.

Bahrāmī's verses are frequently cited in the *Lughat-i Furs* by Asadī, but the poet's exact date remains doubtful. The manuscript of another work—one preserved in the Vienna Library—is declared to be an autograph by Asadī bearing the date 446/1054-5, and this provides a *terminus ad quem* for Bahrāmī. According to Hidāyat (*Majma' al-fuṣṣalāh*, I, p. 173), he was a contemporary of Nāṣir al-Dīn Sabuktāgīn the Ghaznawid (d. 387/997) and nevertheless died in 500/1106-7. The two statements are incompatible and the probability is that it was with Maḥmūd (d. 421/1030) that the poet was contemporary, as stated by *Haft Iqlīm*.

According to Hidāyat (*loc. cit.*) and E. G. Browne (*Literary History*, II, p. 20), Bahrāmī's works *Ghāyat al-'arūḍiyyān* and *Kanz al-qāfiyah* appear to have been lost, but there is little doubt that we here have a copy of the latter work, an interesting and valuable addition to our small stock of prose in early Islamic Persian. Though legible enough the copy was made by a scribe not very familiar with Arabic, who has obviously miswritten the original text in parts and hence provided a number of uncertainties. In spite of that, the Introduction is so brief as to bear an attempt at translation in full.

Translation

"Praise be to Allah who created the tongue [reading *al-lisān* for *al-insān* of the text] in his constitution of man and endowed him with speech and understanding. And blessings be upon his Prophet, distinguished as the most eloquent of the Arabs and of the (?) perspicuous [reading *al-abyān* for *al-tayān*], his household and Companions.

"The composer of (this) out-of-the way work and compiler of this unusual treatise, the defender of the Indubitable, 'Izz al-Dīn (*sic*) Shaikh 'Alī 'Izz al-Dīn Sarakhsī (May Allah prosper his future!), declares that the foundation of verse rests upon familiarity with rhyme in the same way that the structure of metre stands upon knowledge of prosody. Verse in itself does not comprise rhyme, which corresponds in verse to the knot in a string of pearls; as a round of pearls becomes a necklace by reason of the knots, so the round of words becomes [a succession of] hemistichs by reason of the rhymes.

"For the poet rhyme is the guide-post to his themes and is of all essentials the most important to him, because verse is founded on it and without it verse-composition is impossible, however numerous the themes. It sometimes happens that a poet is at a loss for a rhyme, so that his work fails to make progress and he cannot find one in spite of all his efforts, though that is better than feebleness of invention on the poet's part. The fact is that a poet's failure to find rhymes may be due to one of two reasons, either that they do not exist or are precarious, or else that although they may be plentiful they are out of the poet's ken. That explains why some poets, having begun a piece of verse for which there is an abundance of rhymes, declare that such or such rhyming is precarious and then leave their composition uncompleted with only ten or five out of twenty [lines] done. Sometimes there may be fifty rhymes, but they are of no avail if the poet is ignorant of them.

"Even when in circumstances of difficulty—as in improvisation—the poet uses a [?] foreign rhyme, since it is not normally used in speech it is remiss and is disapproved. Suppose further it is desired to compose a *qaṣīdah* in which some circumstance has to be explained in detail or some narrative [? *qsm*. Read *qissah*?] has to be recounted in poetic fashion so as to demand length for completion, the task of rhyming cannot be achieved without repetition or over-frequent use.

"For such reasons as these the poet needs an introductory manual to enable him to pay due attention to rhymes and be so fully informed and equipped that he will not fail to produce [good] poetry, thus opening to [his audience] the door of verse and attaining his ambition. This consummation cannot be achieved by the poet unless he has before him a great many *dīwāns* and dictionaries—and this is only for him that has the means—or else acquires a work in which all [possible] rhymes are set out in proper order, and that is something unattainable. I required something of the kind and cast about everywhere to obtain some such work, but without success. Whenever I needed a rhyme I had to search through *dīwāns* or lexicons, being sometimes successful sometimes not. Most poets have been disappointed in this way when composing a rhyme, after consulting *dīwāns* or dictionaries.

"My view strongly inclines to the conclusion that even if a poet had fifty *dīwāns* or fifty dictionaries, it would cost him great labour to go through them all and he would even then not find the rhymes he was looking for; in fact the whole [?] collection would fail to include the idea of the thing. Seeing that one of the essentials of the art is rhyme, it became my desire to put together a linguistic manual, based on the laws of rhyme, which should comprise all possible rhymes. With it I would rescue poets from rhyme-hunting, because once they had this manual in their hands they would be supplied with full information about their rhymes and have no need of any other book. Instantly then, whenever they want to compose a *qaṣīdah* or a *ghazal*, whether in Arabic or Persian, they can look in the book and find [what they want] without any trouble and be independent of all *dīwāns*.

"The work is the fulfilment of a promise which I had long ago made to the [poetic] profession that I would compile such a book, and I looked for complete freedom [from other occupation] so that I could carry out the task. However, one day I was present with our exalted Master, the [great] author in verse and prose, rarest of his era, lord of speech, my master Naṣr al-Dīn Ḥājji Maḥmūd al-Mashhadī* (May his talents be everlasting!), whose clear mind sees far into the subtleties of ideas and whose inward genius is linked with understanding of problems. Conversation ran upon the principles and practice of verse and the discipline of verse-making in all its aspects, such as learning prosody, acquiring a knowledge of rhymes and the like. I said that I

*Unidentified.

was preparing a book dealing with language from the point of view of the rules of rhyme and that it was to be of the greatest use, whether to tiros, [mature] poets or men of letters.

"Since he is abundantly equipped with scholarship and is highly endowed with poetic skill, as well as being [? text? qualified] in the secretarial art, he wished to take advantage of this compendium. His richly endowed mind was extremely interested in the book, so that he displayed concern about its compilation, and kept enquiring after it. Seeing that he was so eager, with his keen mind, to possess the work, I determined to let this honoured person realise his aim as quickly as possible, and so I worked with all speed to finish it, seeking help from God (May he be glorified!). I collected all the rhymes that appear in *dīwāns* and selected a great many words from lexicons, ignoring the usual formations and separating the Arabic from the Persian words. I then arranged them all in alphabetical order, keeping associated and dissociated words [apart?]. Thus I solved a problem difficult for everybody and produced something whose utility will be agreeable to all.

"And now that the compiling, arranging and editing of this composition have been brought to a successful end I have entitled the book 'The Treasury of Rhymes'. My request to the generosity of all men of goodwill is that when they do this book the honour of perusing it they will remember the author with a blessing, that they will keep any errors covered up and hidden with the generous skirts of forgiveness, and that they will correct them. With Allah is success and upon him is all reliance!"

After the introduction there follows immediately the dictionary proper. "*Bāb-i alif. Šabā, šibā, qabā, qifā*", etc.

POINTS OF COMPARISON BETWEEN ZOROASTRIANISM AND THE MOON-CULT OF ḤARRÂN

By HILDEGARD LEWY

In the opinion of some medieval savants, a close connection existed between Zoroaster and the sectarians known as "the Šābians of Ḥarrân" or simply "the Ḥarrânians". In his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, al-Bīrūnī remarks that "Zoroaster took over half (of his doctrine) from the Ḥarrânians",¹ while elsewhere in the same book he stresses that the creed of the Zoroastrian community "is derived from the laws of the Sun-worshippers and the ancient people of Ḥarrân".² Again in another passage (not contained in Sachau's edition), al-Bīrūnī quotes Zoroaster as having written in an astrological work that, as a young man, he studied in Ḥarrân.³ As such statements of the great Iranian scholar of the past cannot be lightly dismissed, it seems appropriate to dedicate a brief discussion of these allusions to a great Iranian savant of the present who has devoted so much of his life's work to the study of Zoroastrianism.

I. Ḥarrân and its Deities in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages

The city of Ḥarrân in Mesopotamia was a famous cult center throughout antiquity. In a letter from the time of king Zimri-Lim of Mari

¹ *Chronologie Orientalischer Völker von Albērūnī*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig, 1878, p. 28, l. 2: زَرَادَشْت وَهُوَ نَصَفَ الْحَرَنَائِيَّةِ. Our reading نَصَفَ instead of نَصَفَ of the edition makes it unnecessary to emend the text as proposed by Sachau on p. 376 of his translation; for as it stands, the text is in full agreement with the passage quoted in the next footnote.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 318, l. 6.

³ The passage was first communicated and translated by S. H. Taqizadeh in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VIII, 4, 1937, pp. 949 and 952. The full text of the gap on p. 206 of Sachau's edition of the *Chronology* is now published by Johann Fück, *Documenta Islamica inedita*, Berlin, 1952, pp. 74ff., sub II.

(1777–1746 B.C.) mention is made of a treaty which the tribe of Benjamin concluded with the kinglets of some neighboring states “in the temple of Sîn of Ḥarrân”.¹ In the Neo-Assyrian period, Ḥarrân was one of the royal cities of the empire. Both Esarhaddon and his successor, Aššur-bân-apli, proceeded in the beginning of their rule to Ḥarrân in order to receive the royal tiara from “Sîn who dwells in Ḥarrân”.² After a short eclipse prompted by the downfall of the Assyrian empire, Ḥarrân again rose to major importance when the scion of a Ḥarrânian family, king Nabû-na'id,³ became ruler of Babylonia (555–539 B.C.). The medieval Ḥarrânians were well aware of the important rôle their city had played in antiquity. For, as reported by an-Nadîm, they prayed once a year, on a solemn occasion, for “the restitution to them of their empire and the days of their domination”.⁴

The continuity of the medieval Ḥarrânian tradition is revealed not only by this historical reminiscence. Their principal deity was still the Moon-god Sîn;⁵ his titles and epithets were the same as in antiquity: *Bêl Ḥarrâna*, as the deity is occasionally called,⁶ corresponds to the Assyrian epithet *Bêl Ḥarrân*;⁷ the titles إِلَهَ الْإِلَهِ, “god of the

gods”, and رَبُّ الْإِلَهِ, “lord of the gods”¹ arc translations of Sîn's Akkadian attributes *ilâni*^{MEŠ2} *ša ilâni*^{MEŠ} and *bêl ilâni*^{MEŠ}.³

Sîn's divine consort who bears in Akkadian sources the colorless name Ningal, “The Great Lady”, is called by the medieval Ḥarrânians Ḥarrânît.⁴ That both designations refer to the same goddess can be inferred from an-Nadîm's remark that Ḥarrânît was the mother of the gods enumerated by him previously. In Akkadian texts, Ningal is characterized as *ummu ilâni rabûti*, “mother of the great gods”.⁵ Far more important, however, is the statement (an-Nadîm, p. 325, ll. 20f.) that “hers were six evil spirits” and that “she used to proceed with them to the seashore”. In as much as this implies that Ḥarrânît was one of the seven evil spirits which, as will be

¹ For the former title see aš-Šahristânî's *Kitâb al-milâl wa'l-nihâl*, ed. Cureton, London, 1846, p. 203, l. 17; ad-Dimišqî's *Cosmographie*, ed. M. A. F. Mehren, St. Pétersbourg, 1866, p. 47. For the latter see *Fihrist*, p. 325, l. 18.

² The plural *ilâni*^{MEŠ} must be regarded as a pluralis majestatis; cf. H. Lewy, *Origin and Significance of the Mâgên Dâwîd*, *Symbolae Hrozny*, IV (*Archiv Orientalni*, XVIII), 1950, p. 347, note 82.

³ The former title is used in Nabû-na'id's foundation cylinder from the stage-tower at Ur, col. I, l. 29; col. II, l. 5 (for a transliteration and translation of this inscription see S. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, IV, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 250ff., No. 5); for the latter see col. I, l. 28 and col. II, l. 3 of the same text.

⁴ This name, which was no longer understood in the Middle Ages, appears in Arabic sources in various misspellings. An-Nadîm, for instance, in his enumeration of the Ḥarrânian deities (*op. cit.*, p. 325, l. 20), writes حساب or حسان (for the variants see Flügel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 160), while al-Bîrûnî, in his list of Ḥarrânian festivals (p. 321), offers, under Aiar 11, 12, 13, and 15, the spelling جروشيا or the like. The correct reading can be inferred from the following data: In a legend told by the Alexandrian bishop Eutychius (see *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales*; interpret Edwardo Pocockio, *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. Migne, vol. CXI, Paris, 1863, p. 923, sub 72) and dealing with the first construction of the Moon-temple of Ḥarrân, Sîn's spouse appears as خانيب. Yet in two variant versions of this legend (see Baudissin, *Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenlând. Ges.*, LXVI, 1912, p. 172, note), viz., in the Syriac work known as *The Cave of the Treasures* (ed. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, II, Leipzig, 1888; see p. 154, ll. 13f.) and in a work of Gregorius al-Makî (we quote this authority according to Johann H. Hottinger, *Smegma Orientale*, Heidelberg, 1658, p. 324, who excerpted large parts of the text of al-Makî's work), the name is written Ḥaranît and جرايب, respectively. The reading Ḥarrânît is all the more plausible since other Assyrian and Babylonian city goddesses were referred to in a like manner: Aššurîtum was the divine patroness of Aššur, Kišîtum that of Kiš, etc.

⁵ See Nabû-na'id's text No. 1 (*Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, V, London, 1884, No. 64, transliterated and translated by Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 218ff., No. 1), col. II, l. 38.

¹ See the passage quoted by G. Dossin, *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, II, Paris, 1939, p. 986.

² See the passages quoted by J. Lewy, *The Late Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and its Culmination at the Time of Nabonidus*, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XIX, 1946, pp. 456ff.

³ Nabû-na'id's mother, Adad-guppi, was a native of Ḥarrân; for the text of her much-discussed funerary inscription see now C. J. Gadd, *The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus*, *Anatolian Studies*, VIII, 1958, pp. 46ff.

⁴ See his *Kitâb ul-Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871–2), p. 324, ll. 15f.

⁵ The name Sîn is used by al-Bîrûnî, *op. cit.*, p. 205, ll. 16ff., and in the *Fihrist*, p. 321, l. 29; p. 322, l. 11, and p. 325, l. 5. Cf. further the name *Dair Sînâi*, “Shrine of Sîn”, of one of the sanctuaries of Ḥarrân. The form سلين (instead of سين) listed by Flügel, *op. cit.*, II, p. 159, as occurring in one of the variants of the passage p. 321, ll. 29ff. explains why one of the numerous references to the god of Ḥarrân contained in the *Fihrist* (p. 322, l. 4) characterized Sîn not as إِلَه but as إِلَهِة: A copyist acquainted with Greek mythology obviously mistook سين for a scribal error for سلين, “Selene”, and therefore believed that the god of Ḥarrân was a female deity.

⁶ Al-Bîrûnî, *op. cit.*, p. 320, l. 5.

⁷ This designation of the Moon-god occurs not infrequently in Neo-Assyrian personal names; see K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, *Acta Societas Scient. Fennicae*, XLIII, 1, Helsingfors, 1914, p. 56f.

presently seen, played an important rôle in the cult of the Moon, it corresponds to the designation of Ningal as ^d*Zaḡīqu* (^dsi)-*VII*^{bi} which occurs in an explanatory list of gods.¹ As on several Ḥarrânian coins from the time of Antoninus Caracalla (A.D. 211–17) the city-goddess is represented with a serpent,² it may further be concluded that this deity was symbolized by a snake. This again is a millennia-old tradition; for on numerous Old Assyrian seal impressions³ the Moon-god⁴ is accompanied by a snake shown either behind or before his throne.

Among the lesser deities listed by an-Nadîm as belonging to the Ḥarrânian pantheon there is a pair of twins, one of whom is called فسفر (p. 325, l. 18), i.e., Phosphor(os), “the light-bearer”, while the other bears the name قوسطير, i.e., “Castor” (*ibidem*, l. 19), “one of two twins”. These two deities are known in Akkadian mythology as Bilgi, “The Flame”, and Nusku. They impersonate the planet Mercury as evening and morning star, respectively.⁵ In later Akkadian sources which reflect the time when the identity of the two pairs of inferior planets⁶ was recognized, only Nusku appears in the usual enumerations of Ḥarrânian gods.⁷

¹ See K.2054 published in *Cun. Inscriptions of Western Asia*, V, pl. XXX, No. 1 (= *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, XVIII, pl. 29), col. I, l. 46 a b. That si has here the meaning *zaḡīqu*, “wind”, “storm” (see Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon*, I, Rome, 1925, No. 112, 24) can be inferred from a comparison of the words AN VII^{bi} KI VII^{bi} SI VII^{bi} AMA VII^{bi}, as found in the Leiden text No. 1005 (see Böhl, *Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche Verzameling van Spijkerschrift-Inscripties*, II, *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, 78, serie B, No. 2, Amsterdam, 1934, pp. 31f.) with the phrase AN VII KI VII IM VII IM-GAL VII (see *ibidem*, col. II, l. 19 of the text K.2542, etc., published by Langdon, *Historical and Religious Texts from the Temple Library in Nippur* [*The Babyl. Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, XXXI], München, 1914, No. 60; for a transliteration and translation see *ibidem*, pp. 58ff.); for si VII^{bi} of the Leiden text has obviously the same or a similar meaning as IM VII in the Kouyunjik tablet.

² See G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*, London, 1922, pl. XII, Nos. 21 and 22; cf. p. 87.

³ See, e.g., J. Lewy, *Tablettes Cappadociennes*, 3^{me} série, 3^{me} partie (*Musée du Louvre, Textes Cunéiformes*, XXI), pl. CCXXXIV, Nos. 54, 64, and 65.

⁴ That the seated deity on these seal pictures is the Moon-god is indicated by the crescent enclosing a disk which, in turn, encloses a star. This symbol, too, recurs with slight variations on Ḥarrânian coins of later periods; see, e.g., Hill, *op. cit.*, pl. XII, No. 9.

⁵ On these two deities see H. and J. Lewy, *The God Nusku*, *Orientalia*, N.S., 17, 1948, pp. 146ff.

⁶ Namely Venus and Mercury, both of which are seen as morning and evening star.

⁷ See, e.g., col. II, ll. 10 and 14 of the afore-quoted funerary inscription

An-Nadîm further lists a Ḥarrânian god Tamûzâ,¹ the same deity recurs in al-Bîrûnî's list of Ḥarrânian festivals under the seventh day of Ḥazîrân (p. 321, l. 7), on which day he was remembered with lamentation and weeping. This deity corresponds to the well-known Sumero-Akkadian god Tammûz or Dumuzi, the god of vegetation whose annual death and resurrection were celebrated throughout the ancient Near East. Two further deities occurring in al-Bîrûnî's festal calendar deserve mention because, much as Tamûzâ, they preserved their Akkadian names with only minor changes: Bêltân, used in p. 320, l. 18 with reference to the planet Venus² stands for Assyrian Bêltâni, “Our Lady”,³ while ديلفان (p. 321, l. 11) is a dual of Dilbat, the Akkadian astronomical designation of the planet Venus, the dual apparently being due to the fact that Venus is both evening and morning star.⁴

As it would require too much space to parallel each of the Ḥarrânian festivals enumerated by al-Bîrûnî and an-Nadîm with the corresponding Assyrian celebrations, we limit ourselves to mentioning that an *akîtu*-festival was celebrated by the medieval Ḥarrânians for their tutelary god, Sîn. Evidence to this effect is contained in a story told by an-Nadîm (p. 325, ll. 23ff.) which begins as follows: “And among their (i.e., the Ḥarrânians') gods was the water-idol (صنم الماء), that which disappeared from among the gods⁵ in the days of the Pleiades”.⁶ The *Fihrist* continues to relate that the “water-idol”

of Nabû-na'id's mother; or col. III, l. 23 of Nabû-na'id's inscription H 2 (published by Gadd, *loc. cit.*, pp. 56ff. and pl. IXff.).

¹ That this, and not Tamûrâ, is the correct reading of this divine name was observed by Baudissin, *loc. cit.*, p. 171ff.

² The reading بلتان instead of بليان of the edition was first proposed by J. Lewy, *Orientalia*, N.S., 15, 1946, p. 375, note 2.

³ On this form see J. Lewy, *loc. cit.*, p. 369, note 9.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 142, notes 5f. and see the present writer's study *The Babylonian Background of the Kay Kâûs Legend*, *Symbolae Hrozný*, II (*Archiv Orientalni*, XVII, 2), 1949, p. 40, note 60.

⁵ سقط بين الالهة; سقط is occasionally used for the setting of the Moon and particularly for the disappearance of the Pleiades (سقط النجم); see Lane, s.v. سقط. In our passage, the term therefore seems to indicate that the deity in question (in whom we shall presently recognize the Moon) was thought to disappear together with the Pleiades. See also the next footnote.

⁶ في ايام اسطة وطريقوس. We read, with a slight emendation (ر instead of و and ة), Αστηρ Τυραννικος, “The Tyrannic Star”. As the context requires

left Ḥarrân followed by the townspeople who implored it to return, which it eventually consented to do; and each year, on the twentieth day of Nisân, the Ḥarrânians went out to await its return. In order to understand this relation it must be remembered that in the major cities of Assyria and Babylonia an *akîtu*-festival was celebrated each year in honor of the city's patron god. In the course of this celebration, the statue of the god proceeded, first by chariot and then by barge, on a river, from its metropolitan sanctuary to a suburban shrine, the *akîtu*-temple. This exodus symbolized the deity's descent to the Netherworld, the crossing of the "River of the Dead" being represented by the procession by barge on the nearest river or stream. Since it is known from several Sumerian compositions glorifying the Moon-god "when, in Ur, he mounteth the sacred barge"¹ that the barge-procession played a particularly important part in the cult of the Moon, it becomes apparent that the "water-idol" in an-Nadîm's story was the Moon-god of Ḥarrân en route to his *akîtu*-temple. The Moon-god's departure is known to have taken place on the day of the Moon's conjunction with the Pleiades preceding the latter constellation's heliacal setting, an event which fell between the fifteenth and twentieth day of the month of Adâru.² The designation "days of the

the designation of a certain season of the year, it is clear that the "Tyrannic Star" cannot be a planet but must be a fixed star or fixed star constellation determining the date of the annual celebration. Which constellation is meant follows from the Akkadian ritual text VAT 8996 (published by Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, III, Leipzig, 1919, No. 141; for a transliteration and translation see Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1931, No. 22, pp. 87ff.), which refers to an invocation addressed to [ka]kkab Zappu aš-tu-ma, "The Pleiades, the tyrannic (star)"; on the identity of MUL.MUL or kakkab Zappu with the Pleiades see Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, Ergänzungen zum I. und II. Buch, Münster, 1913, pp. 23ff., 46, and 152f.

¹ See especially II. 19ff. of the hymn VATh. 414 published by Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit*, Berlin, 1896, No. 38; for the latest translation see A. Falkenstein in A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*, Zürich-Stuttgart, 1953, No. 13.

² Two Neo-Assyrian letters, 81-7-27,30 and K.1234 (published by Harper, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, VII, 1902, No. 667, and II, 1893, No. 134) mention the 17th day of an unnamed month as the date on which the statue of Šin left Ḥarrân for the *akîtu*-temple. That his month must have been Adâru follows from the following consideration: According to the astronomical commentary B.M. 86378 (published by King, *Cun. Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, XXXIII, London, 1912, pl. I-VIII; for a transliteration see Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie*, I,

Pleiades" in an-Nadîm's account therefore obviously refers to the days between the conjunction and the annual disappearance of the Pleiades.¹

II. The Dualistic Principle in the Religion of Ḥarrân

As this brief survey makes it clear that the pantheon as well as the ritual of the medieval Ḥarrânians perpetuated the millennia-old Assyro-Babylonian Moon-cult, we are safe in relying not only on medieval Ḥarrânian but also on Akkadian sources when attempting to determine the character of this religion. As a general rule, the deities of the ancient inhabitants of Babylonia and Assyria can be characterized as the impersonators of phenomena of nature, the qualities ascribed to each god being derived from the effect of the respective phenomenon on mankind. To illustrate the point, we refer to Enlil, the chief deity of the Sumerian pantheon whose name characterizes him as the "Lord Wind". Being a wind, Enlil was assumed to bring the rain-carrying clouds and thus, by filling the rivers and canals with water, to promote agricultural life. Accordingly, he was revered as a god of fertility, as the father who created food and drink for men and animals.² However, Enlil also embodied tempests and hurricanes, and in this quality he was dreaded as a most destructive and deadly god.³ A similarly two-natured deity was Šamaš, the Sun-god. Without his light and his warmth neither human nor plant or animal life was possible on earth. On the other hand, the Sun can also burn up the crops, dry out the rivers and, by sunstroke, kill men and animals. The religions which centered around deities like Enlil and Šamaš were

Leipzig, 1915, pp. 35-9), col. IV, ll. 15f., the heliacal rising of the Pleiades took place on Aiaru 1. As the heliacal setting of the Pleiades precedes their rising by from 39 to 42 days, the setting must have been fixed between Adâru 17 and Adâru 21. The conjunction of the Pleiades with the Moon fell a few days before their setting. In fact, in a letter of king Šamši-Adad I of Assyria (1815-1783 B.C.), Adâru 16 is mentioned as the date of an *akîtu*-festival (see G. Dossin, *Archives Royales de Mari*, I, Paris, 1950, No. 50, ll. 5f.).

¹ From an-Nadîm's relation it would appear that at the time when he gathered his information only the return of the statue to Ḥarrân, on Nisân 20, was celebrated by the townspeople who gathered at a site called *Dair Kâḏî*. To judge by al-Bîrûnî's report, *op. cit.*, p. 320, sub Aḏâr 8, the 31 days of the god's absence were taken up by lamentation and fasting.

² See, e.g., rev., ll. 2ff. of the hymn to Enlil, B.M. 13963 published by King, *Cun. Texts from Babyl. Tablets in the British Museum*, XV, London, 1902, pl. X. For the latest translation see A. Falkenstein in Falkenstein and von Soden, *op. cit.*, pp. 76f., No. 11.

³ See, e.g., ll. 4ff. of the text B.M. 29644 published by King, *op. cit.*, pl. XI; for the latest translation see Falkenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 77f., No. 12.

monistic in character, which means both good and evil, life and death, blessing and punishment, beauty and ugliness were thought to be dispensed to mankind by one single divine being.

However, nature also provides phenomena which, so far as the human mind can conceive, do no harm to life on earth, never create destruction and ugliness, and are always beautiful and beneficial to human beings. These are the phenomena of the nocturnal sky, in particular the Moon and certain planets. The Moon-god Sîn, accordingly, was conceived by his worshippers as sublimely beautiful; he was the symbol of male beauty and strength.¹ Furthermore, he was gracious and merciful, he did favors wherever his eye turned and saved whatever his hand scized.² His "word", i.e., the breath of his mouth, was thought to create justice and righteousness causing men to speak the truth.³ Appearing, in the beginning of each month, as a small, slender sickle, then growing to his full size and beauty, finally waning and eventually disappearing he was a symbol of life; he was, therefore, revered as the creator and preserver of life on earth.⁴ By repeating his course with no perceptible changes month after month, year after year, and generation after generation, he was the symbol of eternity.

If thus the Moon embodied for his worshippers all that is good, beautiful, and beneficial, life-giving and life-preserving, the question arose as to the cause of ugliness, evil, and death on earth. As none of these qualities was ascribed to the Moon-god, the existence of a second divine power which brought the evil things to the human race, suggested itself to the Moon-worshippers. The character of this force can be inferred from a legend preserved in a cycle of mythological poems which the ancients called *utukkî limnûti*, "The Evil Spirits".⁵ Here it is related that a group of seven evil spirits who, because they always acted as a unit, were usually called the Evil Heptad, broke, with the help of Šamaš, the Sun-god, and Adad, the weather-god, into the vault of heaven and succeeded in darkening the Moon.

¹ See in particular ll. 10ff. of the hymn K.2861+4999+5068+5297 published in *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, IV², pl. IX; for the latest translation see Falkenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 222ff., No. 44.

² See *ibidem*, ll. 36f.

³ See *ibidem*, l. 31.

⁴ See *ibidem*, ll. 13-16.

⁵ The work was published by R. C. Thompson, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylon Tablets in the British Museum*, XVI, London, 1902. For a transliteration and translation by the same savant see *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, I, London, 1903.

Having thus deprived mankind and the earth of their divine protector, they returned to earth and slew, destroyed, ravaged, and killed whatsoever and whomsoever they met in their path. The nature of the Evil Heptad who thus appears as the Moon-god's arch-enemy, is described in detail in the series *utukkî limnûti*. They were evil winds which had their home in the Netherworld,¹ whence they emerged through holes and crevasses whenever the opportunity presented itself, in order to do their deadly and destructive work on earth. In fact, every evil thing in human life was attributed to the action of the Evil Seven. Not only were they thought to propagate fever and disease² and to destroy what human hands had built, but they also perverted the human mind causing men to go astray. Thus a most characteristic feature of the religion of Sîn becomes apparent: A luminous heavenly phenomenon embodies the Good Principle, and a phenomenon assumed to originate in the darkness of the earth impersonates the Evil Principle. Since, as was mentioned above, Sîn's spouse, Harrânit, was one of the Evil Heptad, we must further conclude that the Good Principle was, at least according to a certain theology, a male, whereas the Evil Principle was a female.

The Evil Heptad, however, was not in itself a great god, which

¹ The Evil Heptad was thought to be the offspring of Ereškigal, the goddess of the Netherworld; for a transliteration, translation, and discussion of the pertinent passages see H. and J. Lewy, *The Origin of the Week* (*Hebrew Union College Annual*, XVII, Cincinnati, 1943), pp. 17-23.

It may be remarked that the idea of the evil winds residing in the mountains that separate the lower world from the inhabited earth is not as farfetched as it might appear at first sight. Whosoever visited a mountain cave such as the famous "Cave of the Winds" near Manitou Springs, in Colorado, knows that in these caves strong currents of air, being thrown back and forth by the walls of the cave, produce a roaring sound which must have suggested to the Assyrians (as it did to the Indians in the region of Manitou) that the cave was the home of the winds. It is quite natural that such a mountain cave, particularly if it contained a spring, was regarded as an entrance to, or an exit from, the lower world where the evil winds were lurking, eager to break loose and wreak havoc on earth. At least one mountain cave was well known to the Assyrians: it was the cave, far to the north of Assyria, where the Tigris River has its source. On this cave and the Assyrian inscriptions incised in its walls see E. Unger, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, XIII, Berlin, 1929, pp. 311f.; cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 110f.

² The reason why winds were assumed to be the carriers of disease must be sought in the sickening effect of certain winds, especially the one known as Hamsin in the Near East and as Scirocco in Southern Europe. Needless to insist on the sickening qualities of the icy north wind which is said to be particularly bothersome in the region of Harrân.

means it was not an independent divine will but merely the "weapon", or executive organ, of a greater deity. In the religion of the medieval Ḥarrānians, this great deity was Šamāl, the north wind,¹ whereas in the ancient religion the actions of the Evil Heptad were directed by Irra or Nergal,² the god of the Netherworld, of pestilence, of plague, and of war. That he actually embodied the Evil Principle in a dualistic religion is well illustrated by the afore-cited IRRA LEGEND. The subject of this composition can be briefly summarized as follows: While under the guidance of their patron god, the people on earth were pious and god-fearing and lived in unity among each other. Irra, however,

¹ According to an-Nadīm's report on the Ḥarrānian ritual of the 27th day of Ḥazirān, an offering was presented to "the heptad of gods (and) Šamāl" (p. 322, l. 22). Under the 3rd of Īlūl, the same author records the immolation of "eight sheep, seven for the (heptad of) gods and one for the god Šamāl" (p. 323, l. 15).

² According to the so-called IRRA LEGEND (for the latest publication see P. F. Gössmann Oesa, *Das Era-Epos*, Würzburg, 1956), the god Anu created the Evil Seven in order that they might "walk at the side" of Irra. In the series *utukkū limnūti* it is stated that they "walk in front of Nergal" (see CT, XVI, pl. XV, col. V, ll. 16-17; pp. 74f. of Thompson's transliteration and translation). That Irra and Nergal are one and the same deity is shown by the equation "Irra is the Nergal of Kūtū", contained in rev., col. III, l. 27 of the text VAT 9418 published by Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, III, No. 142.

Nergal was a son of Enlil and thus a brother of Šin. In fact, the oldest texts mentioning Ur, the Moon-god's holy city, write its name with the ideogram ŠEŠ-ŠEŠ, "The Brother's Abode" (see, e.g., ll. 3 and 5 of the foundation tablet of A-anni-padda, king of Ur, reproduced by C. J. Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur*, London, 1929, pl. XIIb; see further the legend of the seal U.11825 published in facsimile by Sir Leonard Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, II, Plates, London and Philadelphia, 1934, pl. 191 and 198). The name shows that, at that time, the Moon-god was known as "The Brother". The same appears to have been true at the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur when the patron god's name was commonly written with the signs DINGIR-ŠEŠ-KI. The other brother's identity with Nergal can be inferred from the fact that the same name was occasionally applied to the divine lord of Kūtū: in l. 15 a b of the list of temple towers, K.4337 (published in *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, II, pl. 50), the *ziqqurrat* of Kūtū is designated as É-DINGIR-ŠEŠ-KI, "House of DINGIR-ŠEŠ-KI". Cf. further the town of A-ġu^{KI} which figures as a center of Nergal-worship in rev., col. III, l. 32 of the afore-quoted text VAT 9418.

Yet there is evidence to show that Šin and Nergal were regarded not only as brothers but as twin-brothers. In B.M. 93038 (*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, XII, London, 1901, pl. XVI f.), Nergal is designated, in obv., col. II, l. 39, as MAŠ.DA, "The Sinister Twin". Even more significant is the evidence furnished by the astronomical commentary 81,7-1,4 (*The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, V, pl. 46, No. 1) where, in ll. 4f., the "big twins" (MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL.LA) are identified with Lugal-girra and Meslamtaea who, in turn, are defined as Šin and Nergal. Cf. *Orientalia*, N.S., 28, 1959, p. 121, note 6.

disliked this state of affairs and planned to change it. As he could not carry out his plan so long as mankind was under the protection of its patron god, he lured the god of Good into the Netherworld and seized the reins of power on earth. As their new ruler, he first perverted the minds of men so that they began to fight among each other; the ensuing war gave him an opportunity to finish his work of destruction and annihilation on earth. When the patron god returned, he found his cities in ruins and his worshippers slain. The poem ends with an exhortation to mankind to appease the evil god by allotting a place in their cult to his service, so that he might spare them from another catastrophe like the one described. The subject matter of the legend as well as its treatment implies that, in his quality as a planet, the patron god was unable to protect the community of his worshippers during his periodic absences from the nocturnal sky.¹

From this legend as well as from that previously quoted from *utukkū limnūti* a further significant trait of the dualistic religion becomes apparent. The god of Good, being unable to protect his congregation and to prevent the god of Evil from attacking it, was not an almighty god; on the contrary, he could not even protect himself against the ruse and hostility of his adversaries. This point is brought out with particular clarity in the so-called LAMENTATION OVER THE DESTRUCTION OF UR.² In this composition which originated in Ur, the center of Moon-worship in Southern Babylonia, the Moon-god's adversary was, even as in the belief of the medieval Ḥarrānians, an evil wind-storm, a "storm which destroys the cities, a storm which destroys the houses" (l. 391), a "storm which finishes off what was good in the land" (l. 395), a "storm which caused the light to perish in the land" (l. 405). In vain Ningal, the Moon-god's consort, implored

¹ For the present discussion it does not matter that in the IRRA LEGEND the protector of mankind was not Šin but Marduk and the congregation not the Ḥarrānians but the people of Babylon. That the idea was the same wherever a dualistic religion was practiced can be inferred from the dates on which the medieval Ḥarrānians brought offerings to the Evil Seven and Šamāl: the 27th of Ḥazirān, the 27th of Tammūz, the 27th and 28th of Īlūl, etc. are the days preceding the Moon's conjunction with the Sun during which the Moon was, of course, invisible, and therefore assumed to be unable to protect his congregation against the action of the evil gods.

² See S. N. Kramer, *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur*, Chicago, 1940. For the latest translation see A. Falkenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-213. Whereas, as was stated above, in Ḥarrān, the Evil Principle was embodied by the north wind, it appears that in Ur it was the south wind (ll. 192 and 197), a difference which is explained by the geographic and climatic conditions of the two cities.

the lord of the evil winds to spare her city and her worshippers, for Ur was attacked even though it was a good city and its citizens were pious and god-fearing. Yet here, too, in the absence of the patron god, human virtue did not resist the onslaught of the evil demons; "the mother did not look after her children, the father turned away from his children, in the town, the wife was abandoned, the child was abandoned . . ." (ll. 233-5). Accordingly, the dualists, unlike the believers in a monistic religion, did not regard misfortune and catastrophe as a punishment for iniquity; in their opinion, the evil gods who struck the righteous took particular delight in turning him away from the path of virtue which the patron god had established for his worshippers. The LAMENTATION ends with an outlook into a better future. Eventually, so it is hoped, the evil storms would be completely annihilated (l. 411), and from then on mankind would live in peace and bliss to the end of days under the Moon-god's guidance. This vision of the Golden Age reveals another important trait of the lunar religion: Once the lord of the evil winds was deprived of his weapons, he was powerless and the Moon-god, therefore, was the sole and omnipotent divine will. In other words, in the Golden Age the dualistic religion was bound to become a monistic religion, the sole but essential difference being that evil and sin would no longer exist since all mankind would worship the god of Good. From time to time, the ancients believed that the Golden Age had come or was about to come,¹ only to be disappointed when they realized that the ideal conditions did not last and that evil was still among them.

¹ One such period of expectation must have fallen into the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon. As was intimated above, p. 149 note 1, the IRRA LEGEND leaves no doubt that the religion of Marduk, the patron god of Babylon, was, at a certain time, a dualistic religion. Yet in later periods of Babylonian history, this religion had become monistic, for then it was Marduk alone who sent both Good and Evil to his people. The time when Marduk was assumed to have overcome the gods of evil for ever is reflected in *Enûma Eliš*, the epic dealing with Marduk's fight against an evil female demon, Tiāmat, whom he was assumed to have slain. Another period in which the coming of the Golden Age was believed to be imminent, at least in so far as the Moon-worshippers were concerned, was the time when Nabû-na'id, after his ten-year stay at Têma, returned to Babylon. His text H 2, which was written at that time, clearly reflects this idea. All the deities, including Nergal, the arch-enemy, were assumed to carry out the command of Šîn (see, e.g., col. II, ll. 1f.: "At the command of Šîn, Nergal shattered their [i.e. the enemies'] weapons"). All the kings who had formerly been hostile sent messengers to Babylon asking for reconciliation and good relations; and even the people of his own land who had rebelled against his religious reforms became, under the Moon-god's influence,

III. *The Harrânians' Ideas about Life after Death*

The belief that the evil god and his helpers had their home in the interior of the earth¹ led the Moon-worshippers to a peculiar fear of contact with the earth.² Contact with the earth was assumed to be particularly dangerous at the time of a person's death, when his soul departed from his body; for it was then that it could be seized by the evil spirits and taken to the Netherworld.³ This idea becomes apparent from a passage in an inscription of the Assyrian king, Aššur-bân-apli. When speaking of his arch-enemy, the king of Elam, he remarks: "By an evil death they (i.e., the great gods) destroyed his soul, committed him to the Land of No Return".⁴ In much the same manner, a "destructive" or "deleterious" death (מות לחה) was one of the imprecations upon those who would desecrate the sepulcher of two priests of the Moon-god whose funerary inscriptions, together with the sarcophagus in which they were laid to rest, were found in the vicinity of the town of Nêrab in Northern Syria.⁵ A first indication

"true in word and in heart" (col. II, l. 7). When this dream ended after a few short years, the Harrânians obviously reverted to their dualistic religion which they continued to practice until the Middle Ages.

¹ In the LAMENTATION OVER THE DESTRUCTION OF UR there is an allusion to this belief. In l. 111, Ningal, in her song of mourning over the destruction of her city, tells the storm to "return to the steppe", "steppe" being a term frequently used as a euphemism for the lower world.

² As was pointed out in pp. 65f. of our afore-quoted study "*The Babylonian Background of the Kay Kâūs Legend*", the early worshippers of the Moon were not farmers who tilled the soil but Aramaean and proto-Aramaean nomads who roamed the Syro-Arabian desert.

³ By so doing, the evil spirits prevented the deceased person's soul from ascending to the realm of the stars. As was observed on p. 93 of our afore-quoted study, the worshippers of the heavenly bodies expected their souls after their death to ascend to heaven and be united with their god. That other Western Semites had similar ideas can be inferred from the so-called HADAD INSCRIPTION left by king Panammû of Šam'al and Ia'di, one of the Aramaean vassals of Tukulti-apil-ešarra III of Assyria. Panammû advised his successor to present a sacrifice to the god Hadad when he took possession of his father's throne, and to pray "that Panammû's soul might eat with Hadad and that Panammû's soul might drink with Hadad". (Transliteration and translation of the text are found, inter alia, in Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903, pp. 159ff., No. 61. Cf. M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik nebst ausgewählten Inschriften*, Weimar, 1898, pp. 440ff.)

⁴ See the text K.2867+Ki.1904-10-9,11 (published by Th. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, Leipzig, 1933, I, pl. 31; II, p. 87), edge, l. α.

⁵ See Cooke, *op. cit.*, Nos. 64f.; on the circumstances in which the stele was discovered see below, p. 155 with note 1.

as to the death considered "evil" or "destructive" is contained in Aššur-bân-apli's ANNALS in a passage dealing with the fate of some of the king's defeated adversaries. With regard to those on whom he had mercy he uses the expression *balât napîštišunu aqbi*, "I granted (lit., "I commanded") the life of their souls".¹ Previously, however, he referred to enemies who had been put to the sword or died from starvation, it being implied that their souls had not been saved. It is, therefore, apparent that these two ways of dying were assumed to destroy the soul. A more extensive list of "evil deaths" is contained in a further passage of Aššur-bân-apli's ANNALS. Here he reports that, on the eve of an important military expedition, he had requested an oracle from a priest of the Moon-god. The priest beheld a dream-vision in the course of which he received the following answer:²

¹ See the so-called RASSAM CYLINDER, col. IV, l. 95 (M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige*, II, Leipzig, 1916, p. 40), and cf. *ibidem*, col. II, l. 8.

² In his dream, the priest saw the Moon-god's statue on the pedestal of which he read the answer to his inquiry. The priest obviously did not expect to see the Moon-god himself, because, in the opinion of his worshippers, this deity was too high and too sublime to appear, and even less to address himself, to a human being. Not even Nabû-na'id who, being a king, was assumed to be of divine descent, pretended that the Moon-god had spoken to him although, in the introductory lines of his inscription H 2, he stresses the extraordinary honor which the deity had bestowed upon him by descending to earth so as to appear to him in his dream. According to Nabû-na'id's afore-quoted inscription No. 1 (see above, p. 141, note 5), the actual message which the Moon-god wished to convey to him was transmitted by Marduk; as the latter deity was revered as the special protector of building operations, it was logical that it was he who acted as the mediator informing Nabû-na'id of the supreme god's order to rebuild Eḫulḫul, the temple of Šin at Harrân. From aš-Šahristâni (*op. cit.*, II, p. 244) and ad-Dimîšqî (*op. cit.*, p. 47) it is learned that these ideas were preserved in the doctrine of the medieval Harrânians; for these authors credit the Harrânians with the belief that, owing to the supreme god's unfathomable character, communication between him and a human worshipper had to go through the medium of a lower deity. The only exceptions to this rule appear to have been the *entu*-priestesses who, as described by Herodotus (I.181 f.), were assumed to have been visited by the god when they slept in the sacred chamber on the summit of the temple towers. As we hope to show in a forthcoming article, Nabû-na'id's mother, even as subsequently his daughter, appears to have been, in her earlier years, one of these priestesses.

For the reasons outlined, we cannot agree with Gadd, *loc. cit.*, p. 74, note 2, who sees a contradiction between Nabû-na'id's text No. 1 where Marduk transmitted the order to rebuild Eḫulḫul and col. II of the funerary inscription of Nabû-na'id's mother according to which Eḫulḫul was rebuilt at the command of Šin. Gadd thinks that the introduction of Marduk in text No. 1 was "for the benefit of the Babylonians", "reducing the Moon-god to a mere spectator". Yet

"Those who plan evil, undertake hostility against Aššur-bân-apli, the king of Assyria, I shall present with an evil death: With an iron dagger, (in) a blazing abyss of fire,¹ (through) famine, (through) pestilence I shall finish off their souls". The reason why death by the sword was considered the worst fate that could befall a person can be inferred from two biblical passages (Deut. 12.23 and Lev. 17.14) which make it clear that, in the opinion of the ancient Semites, the blood was the carrier of the soul.² That this view was shared by the worshippers of the heavenly bodies follows, inter alia, from the threat in Hammurapi's Code of Laws that he who would violate the laws would have "his soul poured out like water".³ In much the same manner, an Assyrian religious text⁴ threatens: "Whosoever steals this tablet, may the god Nabû . . . pour out his soul like water" (*napšassu kîma mê lîbuk*). It thus becomes apparent that if, in death, a person's blood ran into the earth, his soul was assumed to fall victim to the evil spirits who retained it in the Netherworld, "The Land of No Return", thus preventing it from ascending to heaven and living for ever with its

Nabû-na'id is not known to have, at any time of his career, made any concessions to the "taste of the Babylonian readers". In fact, his refusal to make any concessions to the Babylonians prompted the Babylonian priesthood to call on Cyrus in order to deliver them from their own king. Moreover, there is no evidence that the text No. 1 was destined to be read in the city of Babylon. As it is the only one of Nabû-na'id's extant inscriptions in which he introduces himself with all the titles customary among the Neo-Assyrian kings but not used in Babylonia (cf. our pertinent remarks on p. 75 of the "*The Babylonian Background of the Kay Kâûs Legend*"), this text obviously was intended for readers of the former Assyrian orbit rather than for the people of Babylon.

¹ (*Ina*) *ḥa-an-ṭi mi-qit girri* (see col. III, l. 125 of the RASSAM CYLINDER). A comparison of this passage with the parallel report in col. IV, ll. 51ff. and 57ff. relating to the suicide of Šamaš-šum-ukîn in the flames of beleaguered Babylon makes it likely that *ḥanṭi* is stressed and belongs to *miqit girri* and not to the preceding *paṭar parzilli* as assumed by Streck, *loc. cit.*, and in vol. 6, p. 71b s.v. *ḥanṭu* B of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary. (In fact, a "sword" or "dagger" is less likely to be qualified as "flaming" or "blazing" than a conflagration.) The mention of Šamaš-šum-ukîn seeking a voluntary death in the flames makes it at the same time impossible to render *miqit girri* in our context by "fever" (as does Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 33, note 6) or "flash of lightning"; for it is obvious that Aššur-bân-apli's ANNALS would not relate first the prophecy and then the actual outcome of the campaign against Šamaš-šum-ukîn to which it referred if the prophecy had not come true in every detail.

² By eating a slaughtered animal's blood together with its flesh one was assumed to consume its soul.

³ *Tabāk napîštišu kîma mê*; see rev., col. XXVI, ll. 93f.

⁴ See Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, No. 203; G. Offner, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XLIV, 1950, p. 137.

god. It was, therefore, logical for Šamaš-šum-ukīn, Aššur-bān-apli's unfaithful brother, and others who were threatened by execution¹ to annihilate their souls by burning their blood together with their bodies rather than face the prospect of being delivered for ever to the evil spirits.

It stands to reason that the ideas about the dead or dying person's blood coming into contact with the earth made it impossible for the worshippers of the heavenly bodies and particularly of the Moon to bury their dead in the ground as did the Babylonians who worshipped other gods. In fact, in the early years of the second millennium B.C., the sedentary Babylonians contemptuously described certain nomads as those who, after their death, were not buried,² a statement which is pertinent since, as was recalled before,³ the religion of the Moon originated among the tribes of the desert. It is equally obvious that, in view of the horror with which the sedentary Babylonians speak of the dead "whom no grave covereth, who lie uncovered, whose head is not covered with dust",⁴ the nomads were compelled to modify their funerary customs when they settled in the civilized regions of the Fertile Crescent. Yet there is evidence to show that even centuries after the nomadic tribes were settled, their final resting places were adapted to the idea that the soul of the deceased had to be protected from the evil spirits. We refer in the first place to the afore-mentioned funereal installation at the village of Nêrab in Northern Syria, where archaeologists discovered an artificial hill built from soil gathered in

¹ This applies to Zimri, king of Israel, who is said in the Bible to have hurled himself into the flames of his palace when his enemy, Omri, was on the point of capturing his capital city (see I Kings 16.19). Greek sources attribute a similar death to Šamaš-šum-ukīn's nephew, king Sîn-šarra-iškun of Assyria, who is said to have set fire to the citadel of Nineveh and burnt himself to death when he realized that any further resistance of beleaguered Nineveh had become hopeless. See Schnabel, *Berosos*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1923, p. 271, fragments 48 and 48*, where Sîn-šarra-iškun figures as Sarakos.

² See E. Chiera, *Sumerian Epics and Myths*, Chicago, 1934, No. 58, col. IV, l. 29. Cf. Falkenstein, *Compte Rendu de la seconde Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Paris, 1951, p. 17.

³ See above, p. 151, note 2.

⁴ See col. II, ll. 9-11 of the Sumerian incantation K.156+K.246 published by Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, Leipzig, 1881, pp. 82ff., No. 11; for a translation of the relevant passage see Thompson, p. XXXI of the work quoted above, p. 146, note 5. Cf. tablet XII, ll. 151f. of the EPIC OF GILGAMES: "He whose corpse lieth in the steppe (*ina šêri*) . . . his spirit resteth not in the earth".

the environs of the town.¹ On what had once been the summit of the artificial hill, a sarcophagus of basalt-stone was resting on a layer of gravel. The sarcophagus which had originally been covered by a lid of basalt fastened to the lower part with lead plugs contained the skeletons of two men. Not far from the sarcophagus, two steles hewn in the same basalt were standing upright, on a level with the sarcophagus. The two steles, one of which was quoted previously,² identified the two persons resting in the sarcophagus as two priests of the Moon-god Sîn. The artificial hill and even more so the heavy stone of the casket as well as the layer of gravel obviously served the purpose of separating the dead bodies from the earth, the seat of the evil spirits and, at the same time, bringing them as close as possible to the heavenly habitation of the Moon-god whom the priests obviously had hoped to join after their death.

A different type of funereal installation reflecting, however, the same idea as that of Nêrab was observed by explorers near the oasis of Têma, in Northern Arabia. Although only one inscribed monument is known from this site as yet, the evidence is sufficient to show that that town was a center of Moon-worship,³ and the sepulchers in question must, therefore, be included in the present discussion. The cemetery, which is located at some distance from both the ancient and

¹ See Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'Archéologie Orientale*, II, Paris, 1897, p. 184.

² See above, p. 151 with note 5.

³ As early as 1930, Dougherty (*Am. Journal of Archaeology*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 307) called attention to the fact that the lower register of the so-called Têma-Stele shows a worshipper standing before an altar surmounted by the head of a bull, the symbol of the Moon-god in South-Arabia. J. Lewy, who discussed this evidence in 1946 (*Hebrew Union College Annual*, XIX, 1946, p. 447) added to this both literary and monumental examples from Babylonia of the Moon-god being invoked as a bull. Cf. also the name *dRîm-dSîn* which identifies Sîn with the god Rîm, "Wild Bull"; the latter deity's name appears, among the West Semitic population of Mesopotamia, as theophorous element in names such as *I-dîn-dRî-im* (see the tablet AO.4656 published by Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et Contrats de la Première Dynastie Babylonienne*, Paris, 1910, No. 238, l. 16). That the Moon-cult in the oasis-town of Têma is at least as old as the time of Nabû-na'id can be inferred from the fact that, according to the so-called "VERSE ACCOUNT OF NABONIDUS" (see S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, London, 1924, pp. 27-97 and plates V-X), the king of Babylon used his stay at Têma to reconstruct the city and to provide it with a royal palace like that of Babylon (cf. the translation of the passage by B. Landsberger and Th. Bauer, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XXXVII, 1925, p. 91). It goes without saying that if Nabû-na'id built a palace at Têma and resided there for ten years, the town must have had a Moon-temple in which he could worship his god.

the modern town of Têma, is covered at irregular intervals by round tumuli built of stone and sand. On the summit of these hillocks, some of which reach a height of 3 meters, there were remnants of a funereal chamber measuring about 2 by 1½ meters. All around the slopes of the tumuli were layers of stone which, to all appearances, were intended as steps facilitating the access to the funereal chamber.¹

Although archaeological investigation in Assyria proper has not as yet revealed any evidence as to the sepulchers of the last six Assyrian kings who were particularly devoted to the cult of the Moon,² we shall not fail in assuming that, when Aššur-bân-apli built for himself a mausoleum in the city of Aššur,³ this structure reflected the same ideas as the resting places of the priests of Nêrab and of the ancient people of Têma.

IV. How did the Iranians get acquainted with the Religion of Ĥarrân?

It will be noted that several of the features of the Ĥarrânian religion briefly described in the preceding pages have their parallel in the Zoroastrian religion as known from Greek sources and as practised under the Arsacids and the Sassanians. As is well known, Zoroastrianism, too, was a dualistic religion in which Hormuzd, the god of light, was the creator and preserver of all that is good and beautiful, whereas Ahriman represented the evil principle. These two deities, too, were conceived as twin-brothers, their father, Zurvan, or "Chronos", thus corresponding to Enlil, the father of Šin and Nergal. Like their counterparts in the lunar religion, the Zoroastrian gods of good and evil were engaged in an unceasing fight which, it was hoped, was to end with the eventual defeat of the evil spirits and the coming of the Golden Age. Even the millennia-old symbol of the Moon-cult

¹ See Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, II, Paris, 1914, pp. 153–5.

² By a strange coincidence, Aššur-bân-apli was, so far as is known, the only one among these kings who died a natural death from old age. Sargon, as is well known, was slain in battle; Sennacherib, his son, was murdered by one of his sons; Esarhaddon, his successor, took sick and died during a campaign against Egypt. Aššur-bân-apli's son, Šin-šarra-iškun, is reported to have died in the flames of his beleaguered capital city (see above, p. 154, note 1). Aššur-bân-apli's other son, Aššur-etel-ilāni, disappeared after a short reign, having been killed, in all likelihood, in a fratricidal war.

³ On the mausoleum (*bit kimaḥḥi*) which Aššur-bân-apli built in the city of Aššur before ascending the throne, see Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, XIII, 1939–41, pp. 213ff. and Ebeling, *Stiftungen und Vorschriften für assyrische Tempel*, *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, No. 23, 1954, p. 18.

and of the city of Ĥarrân,¹ viz., the crescent including between its horns a star, occurs not infrequently on gems from the Sassanian period.²

Like the Moon-worshippers, the Zoroastrians believed in the existence of a human soul as distinct from the body. They, too, assumed that a pious person's spirit survived his physical death; and, as Pehlevi texts refer to this life after death as "the best existence",³ they, too, appear to have assumed that the soul would ascend to heaven and be for ever in the presence of its god. Much as the Moon-worshippers, the Zoroastrians believed that the eternal life of their souls was endangered by contact of a dead body with the earth, the seat of the evil spirits; accordingly, they, too, did not bury their dead but deposited them either on a natural elevation or, as do the present-day Parsees, on the summit of a funereal tower.⁴

Space does not permit to discuss in detail any further features common to the Moon-cult and the Sassanian state religion. Suffice it to mention that the concept of the divine origin of human kings which, as was shown elsewhere,⁵ is a characteristic trait of the religion of the heavenly bodies, is clearly traceable in the inscriptions of the Sassanian kings.⁶ Finally, attention must be called to a peculiarity of the Sassanian calendar which is paralleled by a habit of the Neo-Assyrian Moon-worshippers. As is well known, not only all the months of the Sassanian calendar (except for the first), but also the thirty days of the months bear the name of a deity, the first being called Hormuzd for the god of the good principle. In Aššur-bân-apli's

¹ See, e.g., the references quoted above, p. 142, note 4.

² See, e.g., A. Mordtmann, *Studien über geschnittene Steine mit Pehlevi Inschriften*, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XVIII, 1864, pl. I, No. 61 and p. 25; pl. II, No. 143 and p. 41; pl. I, No. 28; pl. III, Nos. 92, 102, and 154; pl. IV, No. 49.

³ See, e.g., DĒNKART, Book VII, chapter V.1 (West, *The Sacred Books of the East*, XXXVII, Oxford, 1892, *Pahlavi Texts*, part IV, p. 73); chapter VI.1 (*ibidem*, p. 77).

⁴ See J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, II, Paris, 1892, pp. 155ff.

⁵ *The Babylonian Background of the Kay Kâûs Legend*, pp. 78f.

⁶ See, e.g., the legend inscribed on the relief of Šâpûr II at the Tâq-i-Bustân (published in facsimile, transliteration, and translation by Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin, 1920, p. 67): "This is the image of the Mazda-worshipping god Šâpûr, king of kings of Iran and Aniran, who is a scion of the gods, the son of the Mazda-worshipping god Hormuzd, king of kings of Iran and Aniran, who is a scion of the gods, the grandson of the god Narseh, king of kings".

inscriptions, there occur formulae such as these: "In the month of Aiaru, the month of Ea, the lord of mankind, on the twelfth day, a favorable day, (the day of) the food-offering of Gula";¹ "in the month of Simânu, the month of Sîn, the foremost and prime son of Enlil, on the 25th day, (the day of) the procession of the divine lady of Babylon";² "in the month of Abu, the month of the bow-star, the heroic daughter of Sîn, on the 3rd day, (the day of) the vigil for the king of the gods, Marduk";³ "in the month of Ulûlu, (the month of) the service of Ištar, on the feast of the sublime Aššur".⁴

When trying to determine the period during which the beliefs and practices of the Moon-worshippers became known to the Iranians, it is not without interest to notice that the massive rock-graves of Darius I and his immediate successors betray no relationship to the sepulchers of the worshippers of the Moon. Nor do these kings appear to have been acquainted with the notion of the divine origin of earthly kings; their names as well as those of their defunct ancestors are always preceded, in their inscriptions, by the determinative characterizing them as ordinary human males. Likewise, the dates appearing in their texts simply number the days instead of naming them for a deity. The divine emblem appearing on their reliefs is not the lunar crescent but the winged solar disk which they, to all appearances, took over from the well-known emblem of the god Aššur.

There is, however, one Achaemenian king whose sepulchre differs conspicuously from those of Darius I and his successors: It is the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae which consists of a stage tower of six steps crowned by a tomb chamber. According to Arrian's description,⁵ the king's body rested in a golden coffin within this lofty funereal chamber. Being built, according to Herzfeld,⁶ with a Babylonian stage-tower in mind, this structure is obviously influenced by the ideas of the lunar religion.⁷ Equally significant is Herzfeld's

¹ See col. I, ll. 11f. of the RASSAM CYLINDER.

² See *ibidem*, col. VIII, ll. 96ff. Cf. the parallel passage of the text K.2802, col. VI, ll. 17ff. (Streck, *op. cit.*, II, p. 204).

³ See col. IX, ll. 9ff. of the RASSAM CYLINDER.

⁴ See CYLINDER B, col. V, ll. 77f.

⁵ ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, VI.29.

⁶ *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, I, Berlin, 1929-30, pp. 8-10.

⁷ A structure named Gâr-i-Dukhtar, "The Daughter's Tomb", which bears a considerable resemblance to the tomb of Cyrus was recently discovered by Professor Vanden Berghe in the plain of Buzpar, in the province of Fars. A description of the structure which Professor Vanden Berghe discussed in a

observation that also a temple discovered by him at Pasargadae shows affinities to the Assyro-Babylonian stage-towers and thus differs conspicuously from the places of worship of Cyrus' successors. Since, as the present writer pointed out elsewhere,¹ the stage-towers were an indispensable implement of the worship of the heavenly bodies, serving as both observatory and place of contact between a human being and his god, the two structures at Pasargadae suggest that it was under Cyrus that the religious concepts of the Moon-cult were first propagated in Iran. At first approach this conclusion appears to be incompatible with Cyrus' well-known inscription, the so-called "Proclamation to the Babylonians"; for there it is stated that Cyrus conquered Babylonia on orders of Marduk, the god of Babylon, who entrusted him with the rule over the world and led him into his holy city so that he might put an end to the reign of Nabû-na'id, the king who placed the Moon-god above all other deities, including Marduk. Yet the excavations at Ur have furnished evidence to indicate that Cyrus changed his religious policy some time after the conquest of Babylonia. Whereas in his first onslaught his soldiery destroyed all the buildings in the sacred area of Ur which Nabû-na'id had erected,² he subsequently restored at least some of the temples and returned them to their former use.³

Even more significant is the wording of a fragmentary cylinder inscription of Cyrus found at Ur⁴ which contains this statement: "Sîn, the illuminator of heaven and earth, under a favorable omen,

lecture at the Rencontre Assyriologique in Paris, on June 23, 1961, will, as he kindly informs me, be published in the first issue of the new periodical *Iranica Antiqua*.

¹ *The Babylonian Background of the Kay Kâûs Legend*, pp. 87ff.

² See, especially, col. VI, ll. 17ff. of the VERSE ACCOUNT (cf. above, p. 155, note 3).

³ See C. J. Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur*, pp. 250f. However, the assumption of Gadd that the restoration served the purpose of receiving the Moon-god's statue after its return from Babylon whither it allegedly had been brought by Nabû-na'id is contradicted by col. III, l. 21 of the NABONIDUS CHRONICLE (Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-123 and pl. XI-XIV), from which it follows that the return of the deities which Nabû-na'id had taken to Babylon took place a few months after Cyrus had conquered Babylon. At that time the temples which had been razed to the ground could not have been rebuilt. Moreover, there is no evidence that the statue of the Moon-god was taken from Ur to Babylon; in the enumeration of the deities that came to Babylon (col. III of the CHRONICLE) this deity is not mentioned.

⁴ See C. J. Gadd and L. Legrain, *Royal Inscriptions, Ur Excavations, Texts*, I, London and Philadelphia, 1928, No. 307, p. 96.

delivered into my hands the four quarters of the world". In other words, Cyrus here credits the Moon-god Sîn with having delivered to him the realm formerly ruled by Nabû-na'id, whereas in the Proclamation he attributed his success to the guidance of Marduk. In addition, the reference to the omen suggests that he belatedly consulted the astronomers with respect to the horoscope at the time of his campaign against Nabû-na'id.

Perplexing as it might appear at first sight that the victorious Cyrus should have embraced the religion the principal propagator of which was the vanquished Nabû-na'id, the possible reasons for this conversion can be gleaned from the extant sources. From col. V, ll. 4-7 of the "VERSE ACCOUNT" combined with col. I, l. 42 of Nabû-na'id's inscription H 2 from Harrân it can be inferred that, during Nabû-na'id's ten-year stay at Têma, hostilities between him and Cyrus had occurred.¹ Both passages make it clear, on the other hand, that this incident had been settled to Nabû-na'id's entire satisfaction and that "reconciliation and goodwill" prevailed.² In other words, it is apparent that a peace treaty had been concluded between the two kings, and that Cyrus had broken this treaty when he attacked Babylonia in Nabû-na'id's seventeenth year. Since the Iranian religions no less than those of the Semites condemn the violation of a solemn agreement, the aggressor had to fear henceforth the wrath and the retaliation of all the deities of both contracting parties who had been called upon in the treaty, as was customary in the ancient Near East, to punish the violator. Foremost among the deities offended by Cyrus' breach of faith was, of course, Nabû-na'id's supreme god, Sîn. And the Aramaeans of Babylonia who were the main supporters of Nabû-na'id could not fail to ascribe every misfortune that befell the

Persians in the months and years after the conquest of Babylon to the vengeance of Sîn. That misfortunes actually began to occur shortly after Cyrus' entry into Babylonia is related in the CHRONICLE. First, Ugbaru, the commander of the troops which had seized the capital, died suddenly (col. III, l. 22). A few months later, the king's spouse died (col. III, l. 23). Further threatening events were related in the fragmentary col. IV of the Chronicle which possibly referred to the fact that, not even one year after having appointed his son Cambyses viceroy of Babylonia, Cyrus was compelled to recall him.¹ Thus the only way left open to Cyrus of avoiding a continuous series of catastrophes was to seek Nabû-na'id's help and advice upon the means by which the offended Moon-god could be appeased. That a reconciliation between Cyrus and Nabû-na'id actually took place can be inferred from the report of Berossos that Nabû-na'id was appointed by Cyrus to rule over the Iranian province of Carmania.² Once established in Iran, the fanatical worshipper of the Moon-god and offspring of Harrân who possessed all the learning and wisdom of his time could hardly fail to impress his ideas on his new subjects.

¹ Col. II, ll. 15f. of the CHRONICLE suggest that these hostilities took place in Nabû-na'id's ninth regnal year and were connected with Cyrus' campaign against Lydia; for as the king of Persia is said to have negotiated the Tigris River below Arbela and proceeded from there to western Asia Minor, he could hardly fail to march through Babylonian territory. The fact that, according to Herodotus (I.77), the king of Lydia sent emissaries to Babylon to ask for Nabû-na'id's help against Cyrus may also point to tension between the two rulers.

² In col. I, ll. 38ff. of his inscription H 2, Nabû-na'id lists Media among the countries and peoples whose rulers "(formerly) hostile" sent embassies to him asking for "reconciliation and goodwill". That *sulummû* means "reconciliation" was first pointed out by J. Lewy, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft*, 29, 1924, 2, p. 83, sub Z.29. See now also E. Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger*, Graz, 1959, p. 41, ad No. 36.

¹ Evidence to this effect is provided by the date formulae of the contemporary Babylonian contract tablets; for the details and references see Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, II, Münster, 1909/10, pp. 397ff. and more recently Dubberstein in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, LV, 1938, pp. 417-19.

² See Schnabel, *Berossos*, p. 274, fragments 53 and 54.

A KURDISH CREED

By D. N. MACKENZIE

Kurdish poets of the seventeenth century and earlier, Aḥmadē Xānī, Malāē Jizrī, Malā Aḥmadē Bātē and others, wrote in a Kurdish which may be called "North-eastern". This was a literary language bearing a heavy load of Arabic and Persian vocabulary, but still recognizable as basically the Kurdish of Bohtan and Hakari and the regions lying to the north. But little information about the separate dialects of these regions can be culled from the literary sources. For the first prose "dialect" Kurdish text we must wait until the beginning of the nineteenth century. As it is a comparatively short text its reproduction in full may not be without interest. That it is here dedicated to H. E. Seyyid Hasan Taqizadeh must, I regret, do it greater honour than it can impart.

In one manuscript of the *Nūbār* and '*Aqāid* of Aḥmadē Xānī, published in facsimile by A. von Le Coq,¹ the last four folios are filled by a prose text entitled *Fī bayāni arkāni l-islām*. It is written in the same hand, and as liberally and ambiguously vowelled, as the preceding poems, but there is nothing concrete to connect it with Aḥmadē Xānī beyond the similarity of language. We are on firmer ground, however, with a similar work published soon after. This is the *Xulāsa-y 'aqāid* by Šēx 'Abdullāh of Nahrī, Šamdīnān.²

Šēx 'Abdullāh was one of the celebrated Sayyids of Nahrī descended from Šēx 'Abdul'Azīz, son of Šēx 'AbdulQādir Gilānī.³ One of the disciples who acquired the Qādirī Path from him was a certain Malā Xālid (b. 1779) of Šārazūr, later to acquire fame as Mawlānā Xālid, "a personage of great importance in the history of the dervish orders for it was he who first introduced the Naqshbandi Path into Southern Kurdistan".⁴ Šēx 'Abdullāh, with many other

Qādirī teachers, later became a disciple of his own former pupil and, having accepted the Naqšbandī Path from him, returned to Nahrī to propagate it. After his death his nephew and successor, Sayyid Ṭaha I, also received his licence to teach from Mawlānā Xālid. Since Xālid only taught at Suleimaniye from about 1808 until his final departure in 1820¹ we may assume that Šēx 'Abdullāh died shortly after 1810. As there is no indication in his *Xulāsa* of when it was composed we are at liberty to date it about the year 1800.

In 1911 the great-grandson of Ṭaha I, Sayyid Ṭaha II, had a fair copy of the work made by one 'Umar ibn Jārīs, a teacher at the *takya* of Nahrī, and sent it to Aḥmad Rāmiz for him to publish.²

When the *Xulāsa* is compared with the text in Le Coq's manuscript the close connexion between them becomes obvious. If we suppose the text in the manuscript to be the work of Aḥmadē Xānī, or to have been generally attributed to him, then it will have had considerable currency, and is the more likely to have been Šēx 'Abdullāh's direct model. His purpose in paraphrasing it was evidently to make its contents more immediately comprehensible to those in his cure, and this we may suppose he did by "translating" it into the vernacular Kurdish of Nahrī itself.

Fortunately confirmation of this hypothesis lies at hand. During his tenure of the Russian consulship at Urmiye, in the First World War, the late Basile Nikitine enjoyed the services of one Malā Sa'id *inter alia* as teacher of Kurdish. The mullah was a native of Nahrī and had previously been a teacher at the *takya* there in the time of Šēx Muḥammad Siddiq, father of Sayyid Ṭaha II.³ He wrote for his new pupil a number of texts in his mother tongue, of which a few examples have since appeared in print.⁴ These two sources for the

¹ Edmonds, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 77.

² In print the date of the colophon is given as "14th Muḥarram 339 = 3rd Kānūnu šānī 326", but as Rāmiz states (p. 28) that five years had passed since his first publication (viz. *Mawlidā kurdī*, Egypt, 1906) this evidently contains at least one misprint, and should probably read "14th Muḥarram (1)329 = 3rd Kānūnu šānī (1)326" [= 16th January 1911], assuming the Muḥarram date to differ by one day from the tables.

³ See "Kurdish stories from my collection", *BSOS*, 4, 121, and "The tale of Suto and Tato", *BSOS*, 3, 76.

⁴ Beside those mentioned above, "Une Apologie Kurde du Sunnisme", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 8, 116. M. Nikitine also very kindly placed all the surviving MSS. of Malā Sa'id's texts at my disposal and these are now nearly ready for publication, in transcription, with translation.

¹ *Kurdische Texte*, Erster Teil, Anhang 1, Berlin, 1903.

² Published by Aḥmad Rāmiz, Istanbul, 1911, 32 pp. For my knowledge, and the loan, of this pamphlet I have to thank Professor W. B. Henning.

³ B. P. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, Paris, 1956, p. 212.

⁴ C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, London, 1957, p. 77.

study of the dialect of Nahrī, separated by more than a century, supplement and confirm each other.

A justification of the transcription used for the text below must be reserved for another occasion. Suffice it to say that the dialect differs but little from that of Akre, in Northern Iraq.¹ It belongs to the group in which *ō*, *ū* have become *ū*, *ū* (here written *ō*, *ū*) respectively. Yet it does not appear to have the phoneme *v* found in other Northern dialects. The letter *v* occurs only once in the text, perhaps as an inadvertent borrowing from the original. It is noteworthy that the writer began with a phonetic representation of the modal prefix in *t-dam*, *na-t-dā*, yet used the Persian spelling همه for *hamī* and omitted the Izafe form *-ī*. Later he reverted to the traditional spelling of the prefix in *di-kat*, *di-niwīsīt*, etc., and wrote the Izafe more consistently.

In their "secondary" forms, i.e. those following the indefinite suffix *-ak*, the oblique case endings and the Izafe appear as *ī* for both genders. This is reminiscent of the Zakho dialect, which has obl. *-ē* and Izafe *-ī* in these contexts. There is evidence from other texts, however, to support my interpretation of this *ī* as *-ī* in all cases, though elaboration of it is precluded here.

There remains but one puzzle. Is it simply coincidence that in both texts, in the sentence *rukne čārān* (MS. *čārē*) *bāwirīā bi pēyam-barān-a*, the preposition *bi* is omitted?

Text²

Xulāṣa-y 'aqāid <ī> islāmīa bi lisānē kurdī, aṣarā šex sayyid 'abdullāhī afandī šamdīnī, quddisa sirruhu, . . .

Bismi-llāhī r-rahmānī r-rahīm.

Bizāna ruknēt islāmē pēnī-in. ruknē awwil kalimē šahādat-a. ašhadu—ax šāhidīē tdam

an lā ilāha—kō ninīn ču ma'bōdak <ī> dī
illa-llāha—yayr <ī> ṣātak <ī> pāk, bē-miṣl, azalī ō abadī, muta-
ḥayyir-in di fikrā wī-dā hamī^a maxlōq, nāwē wī allāh, ma'bōdē
bi-ḥaq; har aw-a, hayīā wī har bi xō-ya, hayīā hindī maxlōqā bi
wī-a; xāliq ō ḥākīmē hamīān-a; hamī 'ālam muḥitāy <ī> wī-a, aw
muḥitāy <ī> kas nīa, fā'ilak <ī> muxtār-a; bē jē^b ō bē makān-a, li

¹ Described in my *Kurdish Dialect Studies I*, London, 1961.

² Underlined letters represent separate, emphatic, phonemes. ṣ, ṣ, with subscript dots, represent Ar. ث ُ respectively, not different from s, z in Kurdish.

hamī jīān ḥāzīr-a, ṣi rōḥē nīzīktirī mirō-ya; tē-dā hana hindī
ṣifatēt kamālē, ṣi ṣifatēt wī ḥaft ṣifat qadīm-in—ḥayāt-a, 'ilm-a,
irāda-ya, qudrat-a, bihīstīn-a, dūtīn-a, takallum-a—aw ṣifata
azalī-na, ṣi ṣātē xudē judā nābīn; pāk-a ṣi hamī 'ayb ō kēmāsīān;
wa ašhadu—ax wē šāhidīē ṣi tdam

anna muḥammadan—kō muḥammadē 'arabī, qurayṣī, ḥāṣīnī, čāw-ṣaṣ,
birō-ṣā-kiṣyāy, anī-guṣād, šikl ṣōr ō sipī ō nōrānī, ṣōrat wakī
āyuy <ā>^c ṣaffāf kō dar ō dīwār tē-ṣā diyār, maḥbōbtir ṣi hamī
awlādē ādam; baṣnā wī tamām li bar ṣāwē sēbar natdā arṣī; li
makkē bi walad hātī, li wē bōya pēyambar; ṣi bar kāfirān čōya
wadīnē, li wē mutawafā bōya wa hātīa wa-ṣārīn; nāwē bābī 'abdullāh
kuṣē 'abduḥmīd kuṣē ḥāṣīmē kuṣē 'abduḥmānāf, nāwē dāē āmina
kičā wahbē zuhray;

rasūlu-llāhī—qāṣidē xudē-ya li sar jīu ō insānān, kō rīā ḥaq nīṣā bidat ō
ḥukmēt xudē bi jē bīnīn.

rukne dō^yē kirinā nīwēṣēt farṣ-a. ruknē sēē dānā zakātē-ya. ruknē
čārē bi-rōṣ <ī> bōnā ṣamāzānē-ya. ruknē pēnīyē ḥaṣak-a, agar māl ḥabīt
ō duṣmīn li sar rē nabīu.

Ruknēt imānē ṣaṣ-in.

rukne awwil bāwirīā bi xudē-ya, kō ṣātakī pāk-a, bē-miṣl-a, azalī-a,
har wakī ma gōtī.

rukne dō^yē bāwirīā bi malāikatēt xudē-ya; wa jīsmēt latīf-in, di
nōrānī ō pāk-in; ṣi nāfarmānīā xudē ō ṣi xawē ō ṣi x^wāriūē pāk ō tamīz-
in; ṣi hindī maxlōqī pēkwa bōštīr-in, ḥatā qatrēt bārānē ō ṣāēt <gyāy>
ō balḡēt dārān; har yakē malakak li sar musallaṭ-a, bi anrē xudē taṣāṣufē
tē-dā dikat; kasbā^d wān dāim ṣā'at-a, ṣi har ḥaft ṣabaqēt āsmānī jīē
pēyakī nīa kō malakak di rukō'ē-dā yāu di ṣīdē-dā nabīt, hindak har wē
di rukō'ē-dā, hindak har wē di ṣīdē-dā, hindak yarq-in di ṣuhōdā ṣamālā
xudē-dā, na āḡālī li 'ālamī haya ō na li ādamī; yēk wē li sar milē ma yē
ṣāstē xayrān dīnīwīsīt, yak <ē> wān li sar milē ma yē čapē ṣārān dīnīwīs-
<ī> t; sardārēt wān, jībrāil-a, walī bō hamī pēyambarān wī ināya, wa
īsrāfil-a, nafxā ṣōrē wā-ya di dast-dā, wa mīkāil-a, ḥukmē dawl ō dān ō
ṣinātītēt arṣī di dast-dā, wa 'īzrāil-a, qabṣā rōḥān di dast-dā; wa ḥama-
latu l-'arṣ aw nōka čār-in, di qiyāmatē-dā dē bīna ḥaṣt, muḡaṣab-in,
nīzīkī dargahē xudē-ua; wa kaṣōbī-ua, kō malakēt 'aḡābē-na, wa
rōḥānī-ua, kō malakēt ṣaḥmatē-ua.

rukne sēē bāwirīā bi kitābēt xudē-ya; ṣad ō čār-in—ṣad hamī
kāyaz-in, dah ṣi wāu ṣadā nāzil bōna ṣi bō ādamī, dah ṣi bō ibrahīm ō

sîh zi bô idrîsî ô pêñjah zi bô şîşî^e, tawrât nâzil bôya zi bô môsâ, inçîl zi bô 'îsâ, zabôr zi bô dâôd, qur'an zi bô muhammad al-mustafâ (salâtu-llâhi wa salâmuhu 'alayhi wa 'alayhim ajma'in); hamî haq-in, kalâmêt xudê-na, balê hukmêt yêt dî battâl bôna; hukmê qur'anê hatâ âxir<i> zamân dê minî^f bē kēm-ô-zêdâi.

rukne çārān bāwirîā <bi> pēyambarān-a, kô har zamānakî xudê insānakî pāk zi gunāhān, zi hindî xalqê 'aşrê xô kāmiltir, bi karamâ xô kirîa pēyambar; mu'jiza dūnî, kasê quwwat-dā barābar wî nabôya; wahî zi bô hinārîa kô amrê xudê bigahînî-a nāw xalqî wa hukmêt xudê bi jê binîn; zi hindî maxlôqî pēkwa fāziltir-in; sad ô bist ô çār hizār-in, ûlu l-'azm pēñj-in—nôh, ibrahîm, môsâ, 'îsâ, muhammad al-mustafâ (salâtu-llâhi wa salâmuhu 'alayhi wa 'alayhim ajma'in). xudânêt ummatān sêşad ô sêşda-na, yêt maşhûr âdam, şîş, idrîs, nôh, hód, sâlih, ibrahîm, lô^t, ismâ'il, ishâq, ya'qób, yósuf, ayób, şu'ayb, môsâ, hārôn, yóşâ', ilyâs, yasa', zu l-kafl, şam'ôn, išmarwîl, yónus, dâôd, sulaymân, zakaryâ, yahyâ, 'azîz, jarjîs, 'îsâ, muhammad al-mustafâ (salâtu-llâhi wa salâmuhu 'alayhi wa 'alayhim ajma'in).

rukne pêñjê bāwirîā bi qiyāmatê-ya; harçî pēyambarê ma gôtî zi nîşānān—wakî rā-bônâ mahdî ô nâzil bônâ 'îsâ pēyambar ô rā-bônâ dañjâl ô dābbatu l-arç ô yāñjî^f ô mājñîyān-a, wa halâtîna rōşê-ya zi mayribê, wa rō-çônâ arzî-a, jārakî li mayribê, jārakî li maşriqê, jārakî li jazîra-y 'arab, wa kēmîā 'ilm ô dînî-a, wa zôriā fisq ô xiyānatê-ya, wa sardārîā bad-aşlān-a—wa harçî pēyambarê ma gôtî zi wāqî atêt haşrê—wakî nōka hûr bônâ çyān-a, wa kirakîr bônâ aşmānān-a, wa tēkal bôn ô hişk bônâ başrān-a, wa rişyānā stērān-a, wa bē-nôr bônâ rōş ô haywānê ô çayrê wān-a—hamî haq-in, bē-şîk dê qawmîn. maxlôq dê rā bin ô dê wêk karwîn li arçê şāmê, kāyazêt xayr ô şarān dê dan-a dastî, 'amal dê hēn-a hisāb kirîn, su'ālā 'amalān dê hēt-a kirîn, bi tarāzî^e dê hēn-a kēşān, çu 'amal bē jazā nābin. bi farmānā xudê pirê dê dā nēn-a sar jîhannamê, bihiştî dê darbāz bin, çin-a sar hawzā kawşarê, jîhannamî dê zalîn, karwîn-a âgirî. şifā'atâ misilmānān dê bar kan pēyambar, maşāix, sulahā. kasê misilmān abadî nābit di 'aşāb-dā^h. jîhannam haft tabaq-in, wā-ya di bin arç-dā; bihişt haşt tabaq-in, wā li sar aşmānān-dā.

rukne şaşê bāwirî-a kô xayr ô şar bi taqdîrā xudê-na; hamî haraka ô 'amalêt maxlôqî di azal-dā nîwîsî-na wa ma'lôm-in li nik xudê, zi awwîl hatâ âxir harçî wāqîⁱ bibît dê muwāfiqî wê nîwîsînê ô ma'lômîe bît; xālîqê 'amalān aw-a, maxlôq sabab-a zi bô 'amalêt ixtiyārî, har wakî âgir sabab-a zi bô sôtîne; lâ hawla wa lâ quwwata illâ bi-llâhi l-'aliyî l-'azîm. tamma.

Aw-a xulāsa-y 'aqāidêt islāmî li sar mazhabê şêxê aş'arî, raḥimahu-llāhu ta'ālā, aşar<ā> mubārakā zātê řaşādat-simātê marḥôm şêx sayyid 'abdullāh afandî<ē> nahrî-a, zi bô ta'limā biçûkân ô 'awāmmî çê-kirîa. . . .

^a *throughout, but pl.* هيمان ^b *but obl.* جیه ^c *جی pl.* جیان ^d *کسیا* ^e *شیشی* ^f *بنیت* ^g *هیفان (i.e. هیفان).* ^h *عزابدا*

Translation

A Compendium of Islamic doctrines, in the Kurdish language, by Sheikh Seyyid Abdullah effendi of Shemdinan (hallowed be his grave), . . .

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Know that the Pillars of Islam are five. The first Pillar is the Confession of Faith.

(Arabic) *I bear witness*—I bear witness

that there is no god—that there are no other deities

but God—than the one holy Person, peerless, existing from all eternity to all eternity, in contemplation of whom all creatures are astonished, whose name is Allah the True God; there is only He, and His being is independent, while the being of all creatures is dependent on Him; He is the creator and governor of all; all the universe is in need of Him, but He needs no one, and is a free agent; He has no place and no dwelling, but is present in all places, being nearer to man than his soul; there are in Him many attributes of perfection, and of His attributes seven are prime—that is, life, knowledge, will, power, hearing, sight, and speech—these attributes exist for all eternity, and are not separate from the person of God; He is pure of all faults and failings;

and I bear witness—and I bear this witness also

that Muhammed—that Muhammed the Arab, Qureishite, Hashimite, of the black eyes, the slender brows, the broad forehead, the face pink and white and luminous, the form like a lustrous mirror in which gate and wall are visible, more lovable than all the sons of Adam; whose figure in full sunlight would cast no shadow on the earth; born in Mecca and there become Prophet; who went to Medina on account of the infidels, and there passed away and was buried; the name of his father Abdullah, son of AbdulMuttalib, son of Hashim, son of AbdulMenaf, the name of his mother Amina, daughter of Wahb of the Zuhra clan;

is the Prophet of God—is the messenger of God to the jinn and mankind, who points out the right way (that) they may carry out the commandments of God.

The second Pillar is the performance of the obligatory prayers. The third Pillar is the giving of the prescribed alms. The fourth Pillar is the fasting of (the month of) Ramazan. The fifth Pillar is (the performance of) a pilgrimage (to Mecca and Medina), if one has (sufficient) wealth and there are not enemies on the road.

The Pillars of Faith are six.

The first Pillar is belief in God, that He is a holy Person, peerless, eternal, just as we have said.

The second Pillar is belief in God's angels; and they are delicate bodies, luminous and pure; they are pure and innocent of disobedience to God and of sleep and of eating; they are more abundant than all (other) creatures together, even the drops of rain and the stalks of grass and the leaves of trees; every (creature) has an angel set over it, who holds sway over it by God's command; their occupation is constantly worship (so that) in all the seven layers of Heaven there is not the space of a footprint in which there is not an angel either bowing or prostrating himself, some being always bowing, some always prostrating themselves, and some absorbed in bearing witness to the beauty of God, aware neither of the world nor of (the sons of) Adam; one is on our right shoulder recording good deeds and one of them is on our left shoulder recording evil deeds; their leaders are Gabriel, who brought the revelation to all the prophets, and Israfil, who is responsible for the sounding of the last trump, and Michael, who is responsible for the ordering of the crops and green things of the earth, and Ezrail, who is responsible for the seizing of souls; and the bearers of the Throne (of God) are now four, and at the Resurrection they will be eight, and they are proximate and near to God's gate; and there are cherubim, who are angels of punishment, and there are (other) spirits who are angels of mercy.

The third Pillar is belief in God's books; they are one hundred and four—one hundred are all paper, ten of these hundred came down for Adam, ten for Abraham and thirty for Idris (Enoch) and fifty for Seth, the Pentateuch came down for Moses, the Gospel for Jesus, the Psalms for David, and the Koran for Muhammed, the chosen one, *may the mercy of God and His peace be upon him and upon them all*; they are all true, being the words of God, but the commandments of

the others have been abrogated; the commandments of the Koran will remain until the end of time without addition or subtraction.

The fourth Pillar is belief in the prophets, that in every age God, in His benevolence, has made a man, free from (all) sins and more perfect than all the people of his time, to be a prophet; he performs miracles and nobody has (ever) rivalled him in power; the revelation has been sent to him that he may convey God's command to the people and they may carry out His precepts; they are more excellent than all creatures together; they are one hundred and twenty four thousand (in all, but) the great ones are five—Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammed, the chosen one, *may the mercy of God and His peace be upon him and upon them all*. The leaders of communities are three hundred and thirteen, the famous ones being Adam, Seth, Idris (Enoch), Noah, Hud (Heber), Salih, Abraham, Lot, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Job, Shoaib, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Elias, Yasa, ZulKefl, Simon, Ishmawil, Jonas, David, Solomon, Zachariah, John, Aziz, George, Jesus, and Muhammed, the chosen one, *may the mercy of God and His peace be upon him and upon them all*.

The fifth Pillar is belief in the Resurrection; whatever our Prophet has said of the signs—as there is the rising of the Mahdi and the descent of Jesus the prophet and the rising of the Antichrist and the Beast of the earth and Gog and Magog, and the coming up of the sun from the west, and the dipping of the earth, once to the west, once to the east, and once towards the Arabian peninsula, and the deficiency of knowledge and of religion, and the abundance of deviation and of treachery, and the rule of the base-born—and whatever our Prophet has said of the occurrences of the Resurrection—as, now, there is the crumbling of the mountains, and the rumbling of the heavens, and the mixing and drying of the seas, and the falling of the stars, and the extinction of the sun and moon and the rest (of the heavenly bodies)—all these are true and will surely come to pass. All creatures will rise and come together in the land of Syria, and will be given the papers (recording their) good and evil deeds, and their actions will be accounted, and will be put to the question, and will be weighed in the balance, and no actions will go unrequited. At God's command they will set a bridge over Hell, and those destined for Paradise will pass over it and go to the pool of Kausar, (while) those destined for Hell will slip and fall into the fire. The Prophet, the

patriarchs and the pious will intercede for the Moslems. No Moslem will be punished eternally. There are seven layers of Hell, which is beneath the earth; Heaven has eight layers, above the skies.

The sixth Pillar is the belief that good and evil are ordained by God; all the movements and actions of creatures have been written since eternity past and are known to God, and everything that may happen, from beginning to end, will be in accordance with that writing and that knowledge; He is the creator of actions and the creature is the medium for the chosen actions, just as fire is the medium for burning; *there is no power and no strength but in God, the High, the Mighty. Finis.*

That is the Compendium of Islamic doctrines according to the sect of Sheikh Ash'ari, *may Almighty God have mercy upon him*, being the blessed work of that just person the late Sheikh Seyyid Abdullah effendi of Nehri, made for the instruction of children and of the commonalty.

L'ANĪS OL-'ĀQILĪN DE MĪR QĀRĪ GĪLĀNĪ

Par H. MASSÉ

L'*Anīs ol-'āqilīn*, recueil de paroles mémorables et d'anecdotes en prose agrémentées de vers, fait partie d'un *majmū'* d'ouvrages en langue persane, conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (Supplément persan, n° 99, fol. 114-199). Dans sa notice sur ce manuscrit, E. Blochet (*Cat. mss. persans B.N.*, n° 2164) le considère comme l'autographe de l'auteur, Mollā Mīr Qārī Gīlānī, en se fondant sur un passage de la conclusion de l'ouvrage, traduit ci-dessous. Mais les nombreuses fautes d'orthographe et les omissions de mots qu'on note en lisant ce manuscrit portent à douter qu'il soit de la main de son auteur. Nombre d'anecdotes sont de source arabe—ce qui est prouvé par le choix du sujet et aussi par les tournures de style (ainsi *rūzī az rūzhā, pādshāhī az pādshāhān*, traduits littéralement de *yawm min al-ayām, malik min al-mulūk*); on remarquera (2ème anecdote) qu'al-Faḍl ibn Rabī', ministre d'Hārūn ar-Rashīd et d'al-Amīn, est inscrit par erreur sous le nom de Rabī' ibn al-Faḍl ('*Rabī' ibn al-Faḍl ké der avā'il-è baī'at-è Rashīd bè vizārat rasīd*').

Quant au contenu de l'ouvrage, les anecdotes suivantes montrent qu'il est d'inspiration surtout morale et mystique. Les anecdotes sont de longueur variable, les unes réduites à l'introduction d'un bon mot ou d'une réponse subtile, les autres ayant l'étendue d'une petite nouvelle. Le style est élégant, sans périodes trop amples ni vocabulaire recherché; les images forcées, peu nombreuses (excepté, en quelque mesure, dans la conclusion où les mots arabes abondent).

J'aurais souhaité d'offrir le texte persan de ces anecdotes; mais le présent volume excluant les longs textes en caractères orientaux, je me suis borné à traduire en français quelques anecdotes, afin d'attirer l'attention des orientalistes et des spécialistes de l'histoire littéraire sur un auteur et un ouvrage peu connus.

En effet, j'ai cherché vainement un autre exemplaire de l'*Anīs ol-'āqilīn* dans les catalogues de manuscrits orientaux. Mais une

notice sur un autre ouvrage de Mīr Qārī est donnée par W. Ivanow (qui le dit rare, p. XVIII de son *Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Biblio. Indica, n° 241, Calcutta, 1926): c'est un opuscule de 25 feuillets, intitulé *Shaltāqiyē* (n° 669 du *Cat.*) est un cahier de doléances contre l'indiscipline et les violences (*Shaltāqāt*) des troupes tenant garnison dans certaines villes du Gilān et du Mazandarān. "The date of composition is not given; the work was most probably written under the later Safawides." La date de la composition de l'*Anīs ol-'āqilīn*, indiquée ci-après par son auteur (1087 H./1676, sous le règne de Safī Sulāimān le Safavi) confirme la conjoncture d'Ivanow ("later Safawides").

D'autre part, dans la même conclusion, Mīr Qārī se dit vieillard, parle de son désespoir causé par une faute: peut-être fait-il allusion à une disgrâce qui aurait suivi la divulgation de ses plaintes contre les excès des militaires.

En outre, "dans l'ouvrage, intitulé *Waqā'i' ol-ayām*, il est écrit que Mollā Mīr al-Qārī al-Kawkabī al-Djīlānī contemporain de Shāh-Abbās est l'auteur d'un livre intitulé *Zubdat-ol-ḥaqāiq* (la quintessence des vérités); cet ouvrage contient plusieurs chapitres rédigés en arabe ou en persan (dont l'un: Paroles mémorables du Prophète et de 'Alī ibn Abī-Tālib); ouvrage composé pour Sultan Ahmad-Khān, gouverneur du Guilan; l'auteur du *Waqā'i' ol-ayām* vit à Tabriz une partie de cet ouvrage" (Yousef Shirazi, Catalogue de la Madrasa Sipahsalar de Téhéran, t. II, p. 147 méd.). Mīr Qārī se déclarant vieillard en l'année 1676, date de l'achèvement de l'*Anīs*, le souverain susnommé est Shāh-Abbās II (1642-67).

Enfin le catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de Téhéran, composé par M. Mohammad Taqi Danesh Pajouh (*Madjalle-ye Daneshkade-ye Adabiyāt* (n° 1, mihr 1339/1960), mentionne (p. 459 n° 60 B) un recueil contenant (fol. 93-95) une lettre de Mollā Mīr Qārī à un Vizir. Je dois à l'obligeance de M. le Doyen A. A. Siassi une photographie de ce texte: le vizir avait écrit à Mīr Qārī pour lui demander conseil et s'enquérir au sujet des connaissances naturelles et des sciences acquises; dans sa réponse, de style savant et pompeux, encombré de mots arabes, Mīr Qārī l'invite à étudier particulièrement le Coran et lui expose les mérites de la lecture du Saint Livre. Cette lettre vaut par le style plus que par la pensée.

Extrait de la conclusion (fol. 197 V)

La rédaction et la composition de cet ouvrage arrivèrent à l'étape finale et au degré d'achèvement le lundi 7 de l'auguste mois sha'bān, année 1087, par la main et l'effort de l'auteur, Mollā Mīr Qārī Gilānī. Alors que le feu du désespoir et de la privation avait consumé l'airée de son espérance et de son repos, et que le flambeau des tristesses infinies avait été allumé au plus profond de son esprit, il se mit à espérer que, si une négligence ou une faute avait trouvé le moyen de se produire, et si le soleil du signe favorable et de la protection gracieuse n'avait pas resplendi sur les parterres des circonstances et sur les feuillets couverts de texte, pourtant les perroquets usant mélodieusement d'une éloquence comparable à un champ de cannes à sucre, et les rossignols aux chants variés du jardin de l'éloquence persuasive fixeraient sur lui le regard de l'indulgence, estimeraient étrange et surprenant de la part de l'homme bienveillant la notation des signes d'imperfection, et cela parce que négligence et lapsus sont inhérents à l'état de l'être humain en ce bas-monde et parce que l'erreur et le défaut sont liés à la condition des hommes. Comment n'en serait-il pas ainsi, les hommes étant créés faibles?

Lorsqu'il ne restera ni plainte ni gaité,
ni calame ni main ni mon corps ni mon âme,
un seul mot qui de moi gardera la mémoire
tiendra mon souvenir en l'esprit des amis.

Mon intention première en ordonnant ces propositions, mon but intégral en rassemblant et en disposant ces lettres et ces mots étaient que mon ouvrage fût soumis à l'auguste examen de celui qui conjugue noblesse et générosité, qui suit les traces de la bienveillance et de la bonté, qui est source de largesse et de libéralité, qui assemble perfections et belles qualités, qui réunit et groupe les hommes intelligents et les gens d'esprit pénétrant, celui qui affermit les bases de la bienfaisance et des bonnes œuvres, qui consolide les fondements des obligations et des œuvres pures, lui, l'enfant chéri des talents et de la perspicacité, la lumière du clos des vertus et du savoir, celui qui a pour privilège les dons de la Providence, notre seigneur Ishāq (que jamais la poussière de la tristesse ou de la lassitude ne couvre son heureux esprit! qu'en tout temps et en toute circonstance, la grâce divine soit la compagne de son état qui présage le bonheur et s'attache à ses affaires destinées à une heureuse issue!).

J'espère de la munificence de cette personnalité puissante et

bienveillante, adorée de tout être humble ou puissant, vénérée par tout être bien portant ou souffrant, que ma requête et mon désir seront accordés dans le meilleur temps et à la plus favorable occasion, et que le souvenir du pauvre vieillard que je suis passera quelquefois dans le cœur débordant de générosité et pur de malveillance de ce seigneur de haut parage.

Anecdote (fol. 137 R.)

On dit que le comportement d'un religieux aux manières bénies de Dieu plut à un roi favorisé du sort; ce roi désira qu'il vînt en son palais pour que, libéré du souci de sa subsistance, il se consacra paisiblement au service de Dieu. Ce religieux lui dit: "Si, une fois, vous me voyiez batifoler avec une de vos esclaves, que me diriez-vous?" Le roi répondit: "Seigneur! pourquoi donc agirais-tu de telle façon?—Sire! j'ai un maître généreux et miséricordieux qui, même si je péchais soixante-dix fois par jour, me pardonnerait sur ma simple demande, sans se courroucer ni me retirer le pain quotidien, cela en vertu du verset coranique: *Quiconque fait un mal et se lèse soi-même, puis implore le pardon d'Allah, le trouve absolveur et miséricordieux* (IV, 110); or vous vous courroucez à propos d'un péché non commis; comment donc quitterais-je la Cour de ce divin maître pour chercher refuge auprès de vous?"

Anecdote (même fol.)

Rabī' ibn al-Faḍl parvint au vizirat dans les jours qui suivirent l'investiture de Rashīd. Quelque temps après, l'époque du pèlerinage fut proche. Le calife ordonna de tenir conseil sous sa présidence pour désigner celui qui conduirait le *maḥmal*. Rabī' répondit: "Pourquoi réunir le conseil?—Pour choisir un homme qui transportera le *maḥmal* d'Iraq, préservera l'honneur du calife et sera digne de régler les affaires de toute la caravane des pèlerins". Rabī' déclara: "Puisque vous posez la question de ce service, je ne trouve personne plus convenable que moi; j'espère donc de la générosité du calife qu'il accordera à son humble serviteur la distinction et le privilège d'assurer cet office, car le pèlerinage n'a pas encore cessé d'être d'obligation pour moi". Il ouïra tellement instances et supplications que sa demande fut agréée. Quand il revint du Hedjaz, il persévéra et persista dans la piété et la satisfaction, sans s'attacher d'aucune manière aux activités profanes. Un jour (d'entre les jours) que le calife rendait visite à des ermites, le souvenir de Rabī' lui passa par l'esprit; et il se

dit: "Les services qu'il rendit à notre dynastie lui donnent des droits. Il ne faut pas s'abstenir de s'enquérir de lui". Le calife tourna bride vers l'ermitage de Rabī'; l'ayant trouvé, il lui demanda sur le ton de la cordialité: "Pourquoi donc as-tu abandonné notre société?" Pas de réponse. Ce que voyant, le calife donna cet ordre: "Quoi qu'il en soit, dis-moi comment cela se fait?" Rabī' répondit: "Fort bien! c'est qu'auparavant je servais un souverain qui ne me récompensait pas de dix bons services; or maintenant, je sers un souverain qui, pour un seul service, m'accorde dix récompenses. *Quiconque aura fait le bien recevra dix fois l'équivalent de ce bien* (Cor. VI, 161). Chaque fois que je voulais présenter une réclamation, il en résultait pour moi toute sorte de troubles et d'inconvénients, toute espèce d'observations et de blâmes. A présent, je suis libéré de tout cela, et Allah connaît toutes mes secrètes pensées, car *Il sait bien ce qui se trouve dans les cœurs* (Cor. passim); c'est avec Lui qu'il fallait m'accorder sans cesse. Maintenant, Il est le garant de toutes mes affaires. Auparavant, vous vous livriez au sommeil, tandis que je restais éveillé; mais maintenant c'est moi qui dors tandis qu'Il veille, car *ni somnolence ni sommeil ne Le prennent* (Cor. II, 256). Auparavant, je savais que ma subsistance dépendait de vous; maintenant, je suis certain qu'elle dépend de Sa générosité, car *il n'est point ici-bas d'animal dont la subsistance n'incombe à Allah* (Cor. XI, 8)".

Rabī' parla tellement sur ce ton que le calife se mit à pleurer, prit Rabī' par la main et lui dit: "Bien que tu aies été précédemment à mon service, aujourd'hui, en Allah et par Allah, tu es mon frère.—Gloire à Allah, le souverain bon par excellence! Serais-je attaché durant des années à votre cour, je ne parviendrais jamais à ce degré", répondit Rabī'; et il dit encore: "O calife! si vous le pouvez, durant deux jours au moins, en toute liberté d'esprit, échappez au tourment causé par le tumulte d'ici-bas; n'attachez point vos regards sur la suavité des débuts d'une affaire et considérez plutôt l'amertume de sa fin".

Anecdote (fol. 138 R.)

Chaque fois qu'un des princes de la région de Badakhshān avait un enfant et que celui-ci, parvenant à l'âge de discernement, était bien informé de ce qu'est vraiment la mort, il renonçait aux vaines activités de ce monde perfide et, se retirant dans le recoin d'une grotte, il se contentait de végétaux et d'eau pour se nourrir, après avoir rompu

tous liens d'amitié et d'attachement aux habitants de ce bas-monde. Mais lorsque, tardivement, un fils naquit à ce roi, il ordonna de le tenir en un endroit où il ne verrait personne autre que lui-même et ne serait vu de personne, de sorte qu'il ne soufflât ni n'entendît souffler mot de mort et d'au-delà. Ses serviteurs agirent suivant cet ordre. Quand son fils eut atteint et dépassé l'âge de discernement, le roi donna ordre de l'amener à un appartement particulier et de le confier à un précepteur qui l'instruirait des manières propres aux princes. D'aventure, en cours de route, on lui fit traverser un bazar; de tout ce qui tombait sous son regard pénétrant, il s'enquérât exactement et il en atteignait la vraie connaissance. Comme un convoi funèbre passait devant lui, il se mit à questionner et à vérifier ce qu'il en était. On lui dit: "Cette personne est morte; elle a bu le poison du trépas; elle a fait ses adieux au séjour d'ici-bas". Ainsi, il apprit en détail les états de mort et d'au-delà; il connut les états et les terreurs de l'enfer, le paradis, les houris, les palais célestes, récompense et châtement, clémence et punition divines et tout ce qui s'y rapporte. Il sut donc que notre présence et nos joies en ce monde se terminent par désappointement et lassitude, que l'automne de la séparation et de l'anéantissement fait suite au printemps de l'union et de la stabilité. Alors, il demanda: "Que font les sages pour s'échapper, se sauver et gagner l'approbation du Créateur?—Ils obéissent aux ordres divins, renoncent aux amusements et au péché" lui répondit-on. Alors, exhalant de son sein brûlant et de son cœur déchiré un douloureux soupir, il s'écria: "Hélas! ô mort! ô mort!" Puis, sans revoir ses parents, il prit la route du désert et nul ne le revit.

Anecdote (fol. 138 V)

On dit qu'un monarque alla voir un sage; il le trouva dans une maison plus resserrée que le cœur des amoureux, souffrant la peine de l'isolement, subissant la séparation de ses intimes, se plaignant du sort et des événements, pauvre en revenus avec beaucoup de dépenses. Il lui dit: "S'il m'était accordé en l'autre monde d'avoir une place de la même valeur que la tienne, j'en serais satisfait et je n'aurais nul désir d'accroissement". Le sage répondit: "Plût au ciel que tes désirs, en ce monde périssable, fussent de même nature que le tien quant à l'au-delà. A raison de la parfaite intelligence du roi, il est surprenant qu'en ce monde périssable où l'on ne se fie point à une existence passagère, il ne se contente pas de la partie qui en est habitée, alors

qu'en l'autre monde où l'anéantissement n'intervient nullement, il se contente de trois mètres carrés de terre".

Anecdote (fol. 138 V)

Un homme disait souvent: "Je m'étonne qu'au moment de rendre l'âme les hommes ne parlent point de la dureté du trépas, bien qu'ils aient encore leur intelligence et leur capacité de parole". Lorsqu'il lâcha la traîne de l'espoir en la vie et qu'il tomba dans les pénibles rêts de l'agonie, son fils lui dit: "Garde-toi de souiller ta robe en la salissant du défaut que tu reprochais à autrui: ne pas consacrer un instant à décrire la difficulté et la nature de la mort". Il répondit: "Mon fils, le feu dévorant de la mort est trop ardent pour qu'un humain puisse en décrire quelque peu la flamme; l'épreuve de l'arrachement de l'âme, le malheur de mourir sont trop pénibles, trop durs pour qu'on puisse les qualifier; c'est pourquoi les hommes avertis se sont contentés en ce bas-monde d'un froc et d'une bouchée de nourriture, et n'ont pas mis leur confiance en les grandeurs suivies d'abaissement, les heur et malheur de ce monde éphémère".

Anecdote (fol. 145 V)

On a raconté qu'un homme n'avait jamais rien demandé au Très-Haut et qu'il disait: "Celui qui croit à un lot prédéstiné de toute éternité, pourquoi donc adresserait-il une demande à Dieu?" Un jour qu'il se trouvait dans la plus extrême indigence, sa femme lui dit: "Maintenant, demande quelque chose". Il répondit: "Ce sont les avares qui demandent. Celui qui m'a donné ma subsistance alors que j'étais dans le sein de ma mère, comment m'abandonnerait-il maintenant?"

Anecdote (id.)

Le Sheikh Shibli et le Sheikh Junaïd tombèrent malades le même jour. Un médecin chrétien vint auprès de Shibli et lui demanda de quoi il souffrait. "De rien", répondit Shibli. Le médecin vint chez Junaïd et lui posa la même question. Junaïd exposa son mal et son inquiétude; et le chrétien le soigna. Quand tous deux eurent recouvré la santé, Shibli dit à Junaïd: "Pourquoi donc as-tu révélé à un chrétien le secret de ton mal et t'es-tu laissé aller à te plaindre de l'Ami céleste?" Junaïd répondit: "Afin que ce chrétien sache que, si Allah agit ainsi envers celui qui l'aime, que fera-t-il au chrétien qui est son ennemi? Mais toi, pourquoi ne lui as-tu pas dit ce dont tu souffrais?—J'aurais eu honte de me plaindre de l'Ami céleste en présence de son ennemi".

NOUVELLES RECHERCHES SUR SALMÂN PÂK

Par L. MASSIGNON

Il m'est précieux d'offrir, comme contribution au "Florilège" dédié à un grand Iranien, cette documentation inédite sur le premier et le plus grand d'entre les Sahâba iraniens.

C'est en 1933-4 que la Société des Etudes Iraniennes de Paris publiait mon "Salmân Pâk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam Iranien"; les textes inédits que j'y donnais en traduction française (app. I, pp. 43-7) furent publiés dans l'arabe original par le Prof. AR. Badawi, dans sa traduction arabe de mon étude (ap. ses "*Shakhsiyât qaliqa*", 1946, pp. 3-58). Quant à la traduction anglaise annotée publiée à Bombay en 1955 par Jamshedji M. Unvala, elle lui ajoute, en préface, une étude critique sur les "*Ahdnâme*", apocryphes anciens transmis dans la tradition mazdéenne revendiquant Salmân comme ayant obtenu exonération de la *jizya* pour la famille de son frère resté mazdéen.

D'autre part mes contacts directs avec les Nusayris de Syrie, mes études sur la personnalité spirituelle si méconnue de Fâtima Zahrâ, sur sa participation à la Mubâhala de Médine, et sur la Futuwwa des corporations musulmanes, m'ont amené, sur plusieurs points, à approfondir mon étude de 1933-4 sur Salmân.

1° son rôle à Médine auprès des Ahl al-Bayt.

2° sa participation à Kûfa, aux expéditions 'abdités (Zayd-b.-Sûhân) tendant à l'islamisation du Fars.

3° sa maîtrise en 'ilm à Kûfa (*ḥadīth*; *ta'wīl*).

4° son gouvernement de Madâ'in, cette capitale immense, dont il islamise les corporations artisanales, avant d'y mourir.

1° A Médine

Dès son arrivée à Médine, Salmân fait figure d'autorité en matière religieuse, de référence pour le Prophète: cet *a'janâ* du v. 105 de la sourate al-Nahl (XVI), aux résonnances shi'ites si soutenues (selon le

sunnite Dahhâk, et selon les Ismaéliens). Quelle avait été la formation religieuse de Salmân? Né dans le mazdéisme, qu'il abandonna (puisqu'il admit, avec l'Islam, la pureté de la Vierge Marie que le mazdéisme vilipendait: cf. *Dinkart*), il semble avoir adopté un christianisme ascétique archaïsant, judaïsant (la circoncision avait pour lui valeur initiatique; chirurgien-barbier, il dut circoncire Hasan et Husayn); au cours de longs pèlerinages, dont l'un peut avoir été aux VII Dormants d'Amorium,¹ lui conférant caractère de macrobite "*mu'ammâr*". Constitué l'hôte personnel du Prophète (formule solennelle: *anta minnâ Ahl al-Bayt*), logé dans la tente de Fâtima et 'Ali il devint tout naturellement, après la mort du Prophète, leur conseiller spirituel. Non pas pour une politique légitimiste dont 'Ali ne concevra l'idée qu'après la mort de Salmân, mais pour certains actes familiaux typiques: érection d'une "tente des douleurs" au Baqî', pour le deuil filial de Fâtima; mariage de Husayn avec une noble iranienne, non pas fille de Yazdajard, mais de Hurmuzân,² lié comme Salmân aux 'Abdulqays (Ibn Qutayba, *ma'ârif*, 145). Dans notre étude sur la *Mubâhala*, nous avons suggéré que ce rôle de "conseiller" des Ahl al-Bayt fut dévolu à Salmân dès cette proposition d'ordalie aux chrétiens du Najrân, à cause de ses antécédents christianisants.³

2° A Kûfa; à propos du Fars

Nous avons longuement exposé en 1933 comment Salmân est étroitement lié aux expéditions en Fars des 'Abdulqays de Zayd-b.-Sûhân (futur chef shi'ite) qui n'avaient pas encore quitté Kûfa pour Basra. Ajoutons que notre principal râwî, Simâk Dhuhlî (†123), est d'abord la source de la Qissa Salmân sunnite classique pour Ibn Hibbân et Hakim (Ibn Hajar, *tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IV, 139), puis qu'il est aussi un râwî du shi'ite Abû Sâlih Bâdhân, transmetteur des *ḥadīth* de la célèbre Umm Hânî selon Ibn Hanbal (VI, 340-4).

3° Sa maîtrise en 'ilm, à Kûfa

Des sources sunnites autorisées classent Salmân parmi les maîtres de la science à Kûfa (donc *ḥadīth*, et *ta'wīl*); un des Quatre; avec

¹ Sur S. à Amorium, cf. *Mém. Soc. Emul. Côtes du Nord*, 1957, 149.

² *Musâhara* affirmé par Istakhrî; A.-b.-M. Hurmuzani est un râwî de Husayn (Mamuqani, n° 8515).

³ S. est, vis à vis du Prophète, comme Luqmân vis à vis de son fils (Sacy, *Druzes* 2, 142). Pour les Ahlê Haqq, S. est identique à Gabriel et à Benyamîn.

'Uwaymir, Ibn Mas'ûd et 'AA.-b.-Salâm, ou bien avec Ibn Mas'ûd, 'Ammâr et Hudhayfa (Tirmidhî, 629; Bukhari, 531, selon Sprenger, I, 442).

Il serait intéressant de constituer un musnad sunnite de Salmân; il y a des éléments: le fameux *ḥadīth* "*al-arwâḥ junûd mujannada*" etc.¹

Des élèves directs de Salmân iront avec lui à Madâin; 'AR.-b.-Mas'ûd, ami de Zayd-b.-Sûhân, Suwayd, l'inventeur du pain "*ḥawârî*" (isâba, n° 3616) etc.

4° A Madâin: son action et sa mort; ses *ḥadīth* en persan; l'isnâd corporatif salmâniyen

Il n'y a aucune raison de récuser la nomination de Salmân comme wali de Madâin par le calife 'Umar, du moment qu'on rejette comme infondées les traditions shi'ites opposant les deux hommes lors de l'élection d'Abû Bakr, tout au moins sous la forme violente que les Ta'ziyês leur ont dramatiquement donnée. Iranien de naissance, Salmân eut pour principale tâche d'organiser les rapports de l'immense prolétariat artisanal de l'ancienne capitale sassanide avec ses conquérants arabes du jund de Kûfa. D'abord en facilitant l'implantation de travailleurs iraniens à Kûfa même, où l'on voit graduellement des noms persans donnés aux rues² (comme à Kazimên de notre temps). Puis en aidant ces artisans plus ou moins convertis à adapter leurs compagnonnages préislamiques à la société musulmane. De ces deux tâches, nous avons trouvé des traces.

Dans les phrases qu'on a fait prononcer par Salmân en *persan* pour caractériser certaines situations politiques, nous croyons qu'il s'agit de traductions de l'arabe, posthumes. En 1933 nous avons étudié la sentence "*kardîd o nakardîd*"³ relative à la Saqîfa, regrettant l'élection d'Abû Bakr (aj. aux sources la risâla druze XVII, tr. Sacy,

¹ Maqdisî, *bad'*, 2, 96.

² Sur l'hétérodoxie de Kûfa "madâinisée", cf. la célèbre qasida d'Ibn al-Mu'tazz.

³ Cette sentence shi'ite fameuse, sous sa forme primitive arabe "*asibtum wa'khta'tum*", semble décalquée sur une sentence sunnite antérieure, "*asibtu aw akhta'tu?*", d'Abû Bakr (*ḥadīth* al-Zulla, admis par Bukhari et Muslim), où il raconte au Prophète un rêve sur la scission future de l'Umma, sous son 3me successeur (je l'ai étudié en détail dans mon essai sur la "Rawda de Médine, cadre de la méditation musulmane sur la destinée du Prophète", ap. BIFAO, le Caire, 1960).



La tombe de Salmân Pâk

2, 143–4; et le kashkûl de Beha ‘Amilî). Sarakhshî (mabsût, 1, 37: comm. Hamidullah) affirme que Salmân avait traduit en persan la Fâtiha coranique (anticipation d’une thèse hanafite).

Et dans les *Futuwwat-Namé* corporatifs, ainsi que nous l’avons étudié dans la Nouvelle Clio (Bruxelles, 1952, IV, 171–98), Salmân est légitimement l’éponyme¹ des initiations artisanales musulmanes, parce qu’il a vécu à Madâin. Sa tombe,² que j’y ai souvent visitée, de 1907 à 1958, abrite maintenant à ses côtés deux autres Sahâba insignes, à tendances gnostiques, Ḥudhayfa, et Jâbir-b.-‘AA. Anṣarî.³

¹ On trouvera la liste détaillée des isnâd corporatifs remontant à Salmân dans l’App. n° 1 de mon étude précitée sur la “Futuwwa”.

² Cette tombe, refaite, et sans intérêt artistique (photo publ. par moi en 1934 dans la “Seconde Prière d’Abraham”), porte en épigraphe Qur. 13, 24, puis le ḥadîth “anta minnâ Ahl al-Bayt”.—Sur la bataille livrée tout auprès, cf. (en turc) “Salmâné Pak mîdâné muharebesi” de Mehmed Emin, Istanbul, 1337 h.

³ Addenda à la bibliographie de 1933 (p. 47 sq.):

(a) Auteurs orientaux: Tabarî, *dhayl al-mudhayyal* (ta’rîkh, p. 39).—Ma’arri, *ghufrân*.—Khâqânî, diw. 364, 95.—Ibn ‘Arabi, *musâmarât*, I, 190–3.—Ibrahim Tûsî, ms. LM, f. 174–5, 181, 182.—Nesimi, diw., p. 52.—Nasavi, *tabaqât* (*stîfiya: ziyâdât* sur S.).—Evliyâ, *siyahet-namé* (cf. notre “Futuwwa”).—Majlisî, *bihâr*, XXI, 299 (cf. aussi ap. la saffîna d’Abbâs Qummî, son index, s.v.).—Sh. A Lahsaî, *ziyârat Salmân*, comm. par S. Kazim Reshti, cit. par le Bâb.—Khunsari, *rawdât* (t. I, p. 3, en marge, a/s Ispahan).—Mamuqani, *tanqîh*, 2, p. 45–8.—Beha’ullah, *Lawh Salmân* (ap. ses *Alwâh*, ms. P; sup. pers. 1754).—Et, tout récemment les études de Gûlpinarli Abdalbaki (par ex. ses “Melamilêr”, p. 201, n. 1 sur le “Salmân etmek” des Bayramiya; et son “Yûnus”, p. 13–15, sur la participation de Salmân à la ziyâra des XL selon les Qyzylbash).

(b) Auteurs européens: L. A. Mayer, *Satura epigraphica arabica*, III, p. 24–5: texte de l’inscription salmaniyenne d’Isdûd, de Balbân, 667 h.

(c) Corr. p. 49, n. 3, 1. 2: aj. à “nahj . . .”, comm. d’Ibn abîl Hadîd, 14, 94, 1. 8; aj. à Ibn Khallâd, 1. 3: cf. Fihrist, 125.—Cf. aussi Majlisî, *bihâr*, XVII, 81–141.

REFLEXIONS SUR ZURVĀN

Par. J. de MENASCE

Désireux de contribuer à honorer notre jubilaire, à qui les études iraniennes doivent tant, ayant, d'autre part, un tout autre propos que de discuter en détail les thèses récentes et d'ailleurs remarquables d'excellents iranistes tels que Zaehner, Bianchi et Molc, je me borne ici à suggérer de Zurvān une vue qui me semble devoir être mise, ou peut être remise, en évidence.

Décomposons le mythe, tel que le rapporte par exemple Eznik, en ses éléments explicatifs et imagés, et notons d'abord que l'idée qui en commande l'ensemble est d'expliquer l'apparition du mal non pas à l'intérieur de la création, mais en dehors d'elle, avant elle, au dessus d'elle. Le mal ne saurait provenir de ce qui est bien par définition, il faut donc qu'il provienne d'un principe indéterminé. Certains savants voient ici les caractéristiques d'un dieu moralement indifférent, au delà du bien et du mal et distribuant indifféremment l'un et l'autre. On néglige d'observer que si le *créateur* était tel, il ne servirait de rien à Zurvān de produire un créateur du ciel et de la terre: il lui suffirait de produire, dans un monde issu de lui, le mélange de bien et de mal que nous y constatons. Nous sommes amenés à dire que si la création est bonne, ce qui est un des articles de foi du mazdéisme, et si bonne qu'il faut l'intervention d'un autre quasi-créateur, Ahriman, pour que les choses mauvaises apparaissent, l'origine première du mal comme du bien, mais plus encore du mal, est au delà de la création. Le créateur-démiurge ne peut être que bon et intégralement; c'est la position inverse que prendront les manichéens: toute création est entachée de mal, et le bien se situe toujours au delà de la création. Disons donc que le dieu Zurvān ne se situe pas au même niveau d'être et de représentation que les principes créateurs, Ohrmazd et Ahriman, et n'a pas la même fonction qu'eux.

Sommes-nous en train de philosopher au point d'oublier le caractère primitif et simple du mythe? N'est-ce pas trop que de parler à propos de lui d'indétermination primordiale? Sans doute les auteurs arméniens, syriaques ou arabes qui nous rapportent le mythe comme une réalité contemporaine sont-ils d'une époque où l'Iran était depuis longtemps pénétrée de courants philosophiques et où l'on se piquait de posséder une religion éclairée. Mais tournons nous vers un passé beaucoup plus lointain, et vers un espace très proche de l'Iran. L'Inde nous fournit un texte fameux, trop fameux et dont par accoutumance on risque d'émousser la pointe: l'hymne cosmogonique du Rg Veda X, 129. Ici encore un indéterminé primordial, et la terminologie si précocement précise de l'Inde nous le décrit comme antérieur non seulement aux dieux créateurs mais à l'être et au non-être, à la mort et à la non-mort, antérieur surtout à la création secondaire, celle de notre monde, le monde d'Ohrmazd dirait un iranien. Et le principe de tout cela, sa connaissance même est indéterminée au point qu'on nous suggère en fin de course "qu'il sait—à moins qu'il ne sache pas". Or cette multivalence latente et originelle (car il ne s'agit pas du tout d'un dieu "au rancart", d'un *deus otiosus*) est toute différente d'un rapport essentiel aux réalités concrètes et visibles, qui est le propre des dieux créateurs: mais il est concevable que l'on puisse s'en passer, en faire l'économie, et cela explique le caractère historiquement interchangeable d'Ahura Mazda et de Spenta Manu en Iran, tandis que l'Inde est restée fidèle religieusement et philosophiquement à une dichotomie qui fait malgré tout de la création un mode de "production" de deuxième ordre. Mais ce que nous retiendrons comme religieusement pertinent et philosophiquement grandiose, c'est la distinction ancienne entre ces deux modes et la diversité des divinités responsables qui en résulte.

Le second trait à signaler dans le mythe de Zurvān, c'est son rapport avec le Temps et on peut dire qu'il participe du premier. Car le Temps pris en soi jouit d'une indétermination qui ajoute encore à celle de Zurvān, tout en étant susceptible de mesure, de limite, de commencement et de fin, caractères que ne comporte pas la durée comme telle. Cette ambivalence du temps, total ou divisible, est magnifiquement reflétée dans la terminologie iranienne qui distingue entre zurvān akanārak et zurvān i drang xvatāy, et l'usage de l'Avesta, très réduit et appauvri, suggère qu'il s'agit d'une conception ancienne.

Comment se mesure le Temps? Par les mouvements des sphères, mais aussi par la durée humaine, par les âges de la vie. Or les textes syriaques nous rapportent comme autant d'attributs de Zurvân trois épithètes, dont on reconnaît facilement l'origine iranienne, qui signifient "celui qui rend brillant" (?), "celui qui rend viril", "celui qui rend vieux": c'est la synthèse de la vie, naissance, maturité, mort. Zurvân qui est en dehors de la création peut fort bien être dans le temps (durée indivise et moments divisés) qui est à la fois simultané à la création et en dehors d'elle. (On conçoit très bien, soit dit en passant, que l'espace ne puisse jouer le même rôle.) Zurvân, présidant au temps qu'il symbolise, on voit maintenant qu'il peut fort bien être premier sans être créateur: or c'est précisément là le caractère que M. Dumézil¹ a reconnu à Vayu, dans le monde indo-iranien, à Janus bifrons dans le monde latin, et nul n'ignore les rapports étroits qui unissent Zurvân à Vayu. N'oublions pas en effet que Vayu, dieu atmosphérique, a par lui-même une affinité avec le temps lequel est toujours en rapport avec les mouvements célestes. Faut-il enfin tenir compte, ainsi que nous serions portés à le faire, de l'interprétation que M. Ghirshman² donne d'un bronze du Louristan qui représente une divinité androgyne donnant naissance, d'une part, à une paire d'êtres identiques, de l'autre protégeant trois séries de petits personnages d'âges différents?

Le nom de Zurvân, nous dit un auteur grec, signifie le Sort, c'est à dire une réalité qui, si elle se réalise à travers le temps, le dépasse d'une certaine façon et le commande. D'autre part, notre bronze du Louristan, nos épithètes syriaques, nous rappellent l'aspect néfaste du temps, l'usure qu'il exerce sur les êtres vivants, et, au terme, la mort. Et nous voilà de nouveau contraints d'invoquer nos parallèles indiens. Dans l'épopée, Kāla, représentation divine du temps, joue un rôle nettement meurtrier: "Le puissant serpent qui repose auprès de la source, Kāla, c'est lui qui met fin aux êtres doués d'un corps"; "Kāla prend pour lui les âmes des êtres doués de corps selon la loi du temps". Il y a trente ans Scheftelowitz, qui consacrait un livre au Temps comme divinité du sort dans les religions indienne et iranienne, concluait assez paradoxalement qu'il n'y avait aucun rapport entre Kāla et Zurvân, parce que la religion iranienne avait

été dès le début dualiste. Or c'est précisément ce dualisme primitif qui est aujourd'hui en question. Le mythe de Zurvân ne contredit pas le dualisme en tant qu'il le laisse subsister (et même qu'il le *runs to death*) pour tout ce qui est du domaine de la création. Il l'annonce, mais il se place à un stade antérieur, à l'origine qui est avant les origines. Les généalogies divines ne doivent plus être, ce qu'elles ont été longtemps à nos yeux, des projections des généalogies humaines: pour les usagers du mythe il subsiste, semble-t-il, une diversité radicale entre prologue au ciel et prologue sur la terre, et cela s'accorde merveilleusement avec la dichotomie temps indivis et temps mesuré. Quel meilleur commentaire de la doctrine iranienne du Primordial indéterminé et du Temps ambivalent que ce fragment indien que cite Scheftelowitz: "En vérité il y a deux formes du Brahman: le temps et le non-temps. Ce qui existait avant le soleil, c'était le non-temps, l'indivisible; ce qui a commencé avec le soleil, c'est le temps, le divisible"?

Kāla a pour allié, messenger et exécuter des hautes œuvres, Mr̥tyu, la mort. Conformément à la théologie proprement indienne qui intègre et interprète le mythe, ils sont tous deux au service de Karman, développement dont on ne trouve pas plus trace en Iran que de la doctrine de la transmigration. Par contre le lien entre Temps et Mort est parfaitement reconnaissable, avec cette différence que l'Iran ne personnifie guère les êtres néfastes ou du moins les laisse dans une certaine pénombre. Mais dans la perspective d'Ohrmazd, auteur d'une création excellente, de la vie et de la fécondité, la mort et toutes formes de corruption ne peuvent être que l'effet d'Ahriman "pleinement mortifère" comme disent les textes pehlevins. Dès lors, il sera normal de trouver dans une branche folle, très occidentalisée, du mazdéisme, dans le mithriacisme, des sculptures très fréquentes d'homme à tête de lion enlacé par un serpent qui lui couvre tout le corps: s'il a été longtemps identifié au Temps, plusieurs bons auteurs (Zaehner, Duchesne-Guillemin) inclinent aujourd'hui à y voir Ahriman. Peut-être est-ce l'aspect temporel d'Ahriman qui le désigne comme dieu de la mort et mitige quelque peu son caractère cruel, ce qui expliquerait les manifestations mithriaques d'un culte d'Ahriman—à moins qu'il ne faille les interpréter au sens apotropaïques, ce qui est moins probable.

Les polémistes chrétiens s'en sont donnés à cœur joie de railler les adeptes de Zurvân en raison de ce dieu primordial, donc solitaire,

¹ De Janus à Vesta, dans *Tarpeia*, Paris, 1947.

² "Notes iraniennes VIII" dans *Artibus Asiae* 21 (1958), 37 sq.

qui offre, mille ans durant, des sacrifices en vue d'obtenir un fils. C'était ignorer ou rejeter sans plus la doctrine classique des brahmanas pour laquelle est créateur le sacrifice comme tel. Bien plus, on nous dit expressément que c'est dans le même but que Prajapati offrit des sacrifices. Enfin, l'allusion à des réalités d'ordre rituel ne s'arrête pas là. Zurvān, ayant sacrifié mille ans fut pris d'un doute dont nacquit Ahriman. On pourrait, il est vrai, songer au passage de l'Upaniṣad qui nous dit que le Puruṣa qui était l'Atman, étant seul eut peur, et nous savons que le doute est une espèce de peur. Mais ce n'est pas dans cette direction qu'il faut, je crois, chercher. Je songerais plutôt à l'insistance caractéristique avec laquelle le mazdéisme prône la foi-confiance dans l'efficacité du rite bien accompli, et par delà dans la divinité qui la garantit. La profession de foi du jeune mazdéen lors de son initiation à la vie d'adulte lui prescrit de déclarer que sa foi est exempte de doute, qu'elle porte sur l'existence (*hastīh*) de(s) dieu(x) aussi bien qu'en son efficence, foi en la non-existence, c'est à dire, très certainement, en la non-efficence finale d'Ahriman.

C'est là une formule qui doit être ancienne: nous la retrouvons par exemple dans une des inscriptions de Kartīr, au début de l'avènement des Sassanides: Schaeder l'avait déjà remarqué. Nous retrouvons l'expression "foi exempte de doute" tout au long des livres pehlevi consacrés aux rites: nous en avons fait une riche moisson que nous ne croyons pas avoir à donner ici. Citons simplement un passage qui montre que, de cette certitude, on connaissait des variétés selon l'objet auquel elle s'appliquait. Il s'agit d'un texte qui se retrouve presque identique dans deux livres très différents, l'un le *Dēnkart* qui est une espèce de somme de théologie, l'autre le *Nirangistān* qui est le plus pointilleux des rituels:

Kē yazīšn i yazatān apēgumānīh i pat yazatān hastīh i ciš rā kunēt hān yazatān frazand u.š gās pat garōtmān.

Qui sacrifie aux dieux en raison du non-doute en les dieux, et en l'existence (certaine) de quelque chose, est fils des dieux et son lieu est le *Garōtmān*.

Kē yazīšn i yazatān hastīh i yazatān gumānīkīh i pat ciš rā kunēt hān yazatān brāt u.š gās pat vahišt.

Qui sacrifie aux dieux en raison de l'existence des dieux, avec un doute quant à la chose, est frère des dieux et son lieu est le *Vahišt*.

Kē yazīšn i yazatān gumānīkīh i pat yazatān gumānīkīh i pat ciš kunēt hān yazatān bandak u.š gās pat hamēstakān.

Qui sacrifie aux dieux, avec doute quant aux dieux et doute quant à la chose, est serviteur des dieux et son lieu est le *Hamēstakān*.

Kē yazīšn i yazatān pat anast-mēnišnīkīh i yazatān pat nēst dārišnīh i ciš kunēt hān yazatān dušman u.š gās pat dōšaxv.

Qui sacrifie aux dieux avec l'opinion que les dieux n'existent pas, que les choses ne s'obtiennent pas, est ennemi des dieux et son lieu est l'Enfer.

Nirangistān ed. Sanjana f°194 b.

Dēnkart, ed. Madan p. 568

voir aussi Dhabhar, Riv. Horm. Fram. p. 406

L'efficacité des rites, c'est la question que se posaient les mazdéens anxieux de savoir si leurs sacrifices parvenaient bien aux dieux, et qui pour s'en assurer envoyèrent outre-tombe au moyen d'un narcotique, leur frère Artā Virāf. C'est la même question que se pose, en définitive, le jeune Naciketas de la Katha Upaniṣad qui interroge la Mort même sur ce qui se passe après cette vie, lui qui, nous dit le début de cet admirable texte, venait de recevoir le don de la foi au moment où l'on emmenait les dons rituels. Et nous savons que cet acte de foi en l'efficacité des rituels est, dans la liturgie indienne, exigé au même titre que l'intention formelle de l'accomplir au début du sacrifice. Quelles monitions, quelles menaces pour ceux qui y failliraient! Ce scrupule, cette pensée mauvaise qui vient interrompre et fausser le cours de l'activité rituelle, la voici donc transposée sur le plan cosmique et cosmogonique, et c'est cette faille qui engendre l'ennemi, le malin. Ici comme ailleurs, le mythe répond au rite.

Terminons par un mot sur la destinée historique de Zurvān qui achève de le caractériser comme un dieu non-créditeur, indéterminé par nature. On sait qu'il correspond, dans les versions iraniennes du mythe manichéen, au Père des Grandeurs. C'est, disent les historiens, le dieu suprême, et ils en concluent que les Iraniens, aux débuts de la dynastie sassanide et à tout le moins en occident, l'avaient également pour dieu suprême, Ohrmazd ayant un rang inférieur, subalterne. En réalité ils ne sont pas, ils n'ont jamais été sur le même plan. Zurvān est au delà du plan de la création laquelle est dévolue à Ohrmazd. Or pour les manichéens, ni l'être suprême n'est un dieu créateur, ni le demiurge

n'est une divinité primordiale ou même bonne. C'est pourquoi Ohrmazd ne saurait tenir ce rôle non plus. Il devient l'homme primordial, qui, avant de triompher du mal, va en être l'otage et se laisser engloutir par le Prince des Ténèbres. Zurvān, de toutes façons, reste seul habilité à représenter l'inattaquable, l'immarcescible Père des Grandeurs, et c'est ainsi que le manichéisme, en respectant les différences de niveau entre divinités, a fait revivre un vieux mythe mazdéen que le zoroastrisme avait digéré et transformé. Il ne faut pas oublier que quelque chose de semblable s'est produit dans le mazdéisme quand Spenta Manyu est devenu créateur au même titre qu'Ohrmazd.

IBN FARĪGHŪN AND THE *HUDŪD AL-'ĀLAM*

By V. MINORSKY

1

The short encyclopedia of human knowledge bearing the name of *ḡawāmi' al-'ulūm* has attracted the attention of several Oriental and European scholars. Speaking only of recent years, in 1950 Prof. H. Ritter described two copies preserved in the libraries of Turkey.¹ In 1952 Prof. F. Rosenthal wrote with much interest of the historical part of the *ḡawāmi' al-'ulūm* giving the author's name as "Ibn Farīghūn" and dating his work from about the middle of the tenth century.² A considerable step forward in identifying the author was made by Dr. D. M. Dunlop in 1955.³

Though several copies of the work are known in Egypt, the Escorial Library and Turkey, the correct personal name of the author is only approximately known. It is spelt *شعبي*, *معنى*, *شعيا*.⁴ His patronymic *ابن فریغون* had been read as Ibn Furay'ūn, etc. until it was fixed as Ibn Farīghūn, and thus immediately a link was established between the author and the region of Gözgān, in eastern Khorasan⁵ and now in northern Afghanistan.

In the title of his book the author is described as a pupil (*tilmīdh*) of Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Zayd (?!) al-Balkhī. Despite a divergence in

¹ H. Ritter, *Philologica (XIII)*, in *Oriens*, 1950, III/1, pp. 83-5, No. 189.

² See *A history of Muslim historiography*, 1952, pp. 32-4: "The work is a comprehensive encyclopedia in tabular form, which is a remarkable arrangement found in so early a period. The main topic in each case is written in large letters. Thin lines lead from it to the detailed explanations which are written in smaller letters and, as a rule, vertically".

³ *The ḡawāmi' al-'ulūm of Ibn Farīghūn*, in *Z. V. Togan'a Armağan*, Istanbul, 1955, pp. 348-53. For references to manuscripts see this article.

⁴ Which led Steinschneider to read it as *Sha'yā* and explain it as "Isaiah", see Dunlop, p. 351. Though the capital of Gözgān bore formerly the name of Jahūdhān (now Maymana, see *Hudūd*, ch. 23, §53), I do not think an alien would call himself by a local princely patronymic.

⁵ Not "in the Turkish lands", as D. M. Dunlop says. Cf. below.

the pedigree (ابن سهل for ابن زيد), probably due to the scribe, both Ritter and Dunlop take this scholar for the well-known author of the *Šuwar al-aqālīm*, the geographical work re-edited and completed by Iṣṭakhri. Balkhī died on 19 Dhul-qa'da 322/31 Oct. 934 at the age of eighty-seven or eighty-eight.¹

As also indicated in the title of the *ḡawāmi' al-'ulūm*, the work was presented to the amir Abū 'Alī Aḡmad b. [Abī Bakr] Muḡammad b. al-Muẓaffar, whom Dr. Dunlop has appropriately identified with the well-known feudal lord of Chaghāniyān, who belonged to the local dynasty of Āl-i Muḡtāj. In 329/940 Abū 'Alī² succeeded his father as the governor of Khorasan on behalf of the Sāmānids and distinguished himself by brilliant operations in northern Persia where he temporarily occupied Rayy. In 334/945 he was recalled by his overlord, the Sāmānid Nūh ibn Naṣr (331–43/943–54). Abū 'Alī marched on Bukhara, captured it and proclaimed another amir. Then he patched it up with Nūh and returned to his former governorship but became involved in a series of intrigues with the Būyids and died of the plague in Rayy on 10 Rajab 344/30 Oct. 955. His fief Chaghāniyān lay north of the Oxus in the close neighbourhood both of Gōzgān and Balkh.

In dedicating his synoptic encyclopedia of sciences to Aḡmad b. Muḡammad of Chaghāniyān the author followed in the steps of his teacher, for Balkhī wrote a "Book of answers (*kitāb ajwiba*) to Abū 'Alī al-Muḡtāj", (as for the latter's father Abū Bakr b. al-Muẓaffar he wrote a treatise "On the limits (or scope? *ḡudūd*) of Philosophy").³ It is equally noteworthy that, at the head of the list of Balkhī's works, both the *Fihrist* and Yāqūt mention a *Kitāb aqṣām al-'ulūm* "The book of classes of sciences". It seems unlikely that, in the lifetime of Balkhī, his pupil could have dedicated to a member of the Muḡtāj family a work the title of which, *ḡawāmi' al-'ulūm*, suggests a theme

¹ See de Goeje, *Die Istachri-Balchi Frage*, ZDMG, 1871, XXV, pp. 42–58, and Barthold's Introduction to the *ḡudūd al-'Ālam*, Engl. transl., p. 15. Cf. below, note 3.

² On him see Barthold in *EI* (1st ed.) under Aḡmad b. Abī Bakr Muḡammad and the detailed notes by M. Qazvinī and M. Mo'in in the new edition of the *Chahār-maqāla*, Tehran 1333/1954, pp. 178–88. See also the information which Miskawaih gives on "Ibn-Muḡtāj", *Eclipse*, II, pp. 155–61. See now B. Spuler, *Chaghāniyān in EI*².

³ See the list of Balkhī's compositions in *Fihrist*, 138 (42 works), and more completely in Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, II, 142–3 (54 works).

very close to the contents of the *Aqṣām al-'ulūm*. Therefore we might assume that the *ḡawāmi' al-'ulūm* was written at a period after the death of Balkhī (in 322/934) and before that of Aḡmad b. Muḡammad (344/955).

These hints at the background of Ibn Farġhūn are sufficiently conclusive. If his personal name still awaits decipherment, it may be because the scribes were embarrassed by some local Iranian appellation. Even now the name of Ibn Sīnā remains unexplained! The name Farġhūn belongs to the older Iranian stock of the Oxus basin (see below). It was used exclusively in the family of the rulers of Gōzgān, known collectively as Āl-i Farġhūn and individually as *Ibn Farġhūn*. With some overstatement F. Rosenthal affirms that Farġhūn "is quite a common Iranian name" and points to a traditionalist mentioned by Ibn al-Jauzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, X, 64. But the man mentioned there was not "Farġhūn" but Muḡammad b. Aḡmad *Ibn* Farġhūn, the latter name being probably used not as the name of his grandfather, but as a kind of family name (similarly to Ibn Muḡtāj). Besides, he died in 536/1141, i.e. 128 years after the Ghaznavids had annexed Gōzgān in 408/1017. His *nisba* was al-Afrānī al-Nasafī, and he died in his country, i.e. in the region of Nakhshab, lying north-west of Chaghāniyān and also across the river from Gōzgān. It is quite possible that he was a native of Gōzgān and claimed his origin from its noble family. On stronger reasons the author of the *ḡawāmi'* who wrote in the early tenth century A.D. might be suspected of being a scion of the ruling house, or of one of its lateral branches. It is hard to imagine a commoner calling himself Ibn Farġhūn at a time when the Banū Farġhūn were still ruling.

2

The authorship of the *ḡudūd al-'Ālam* remains a total puzzle. The texts and books of reference which have been examined up to the present contain no mention of this remarkable and systematic geography of the World; no shade of influence of the *ḡudūd* on later geographical literature has been as yet discovered. In his Introduction (f. 1b) the author says: "owing to the glory, victoriousness and auspiciousness of the Amir Lord (*al-sayyid*) Malik the Just Abul-Ḥārith Muḡammad b. Aḡmad, client of the Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong his existence, and owing to the felicity of his days, we have begun this book about the properties (*ṣifāt*) of the

Earth in the year 372 of the flight of the Prophet, on whom be God's blessings". The year corresponds to A.D. 982 and the dedicatee is undoubtedly the contemporary ruler of Gözganān (Gözgan, Jūzjān), i.e. of the region situated between the two eastern "quarters" of ancient Khorasan, namely Marv and Balkh.

Unlike Mas'ūdī, Ibn Ḥauqal or Muqaddasi, the author was no traveller and his work is only a compilation from other sources and reports, with the exception of the territory of Gözgan and its dependencies¹ which he describes with unusual competence.

The identity of the patron was established soon after the discovery of the unique copy of the *Ḥudūd*² in 1892 (see Preface to my translation). I remember how in 1922, when the MS. happened to be on my desk in Paris, our unforgettable friend Muḥammad-khan Qazvīnī eagerly turned its pages and spotting the description of Gözgan exclaimed: "The book was composed there!" In fact the author must have been a long-time resident of Gözgan, nay even a native of it.

The book is a masterpiece of précis writing and bears witness to the great experience of the author. His restraint from using fulsome honorifics is noticeable. While speaking with sympathy of Transoxiana "where justice and equity reign", he refers to its Sāmānid ruler, the suzerain of Gözgan simply as "King of the East" (*malik-i mashriq*). Speaking of the ruler of Gözgan he describes him only as one of the "margraves" (*mulūk-i atrāf*) who "in Khorasan is known as *malik-i Gözganān*" (f. 20b). The pedigree of the patron stops at the name of his father, though he is called "a descendant of Afrīdhūn (افريذون)" which is possibly the scribe's slip for Afrīghūn (افريغون), an alternate form of Farīghūn (فريغون).³

¹ Cf. also his paragraphs on Chaghāniyān (transl. p. 114). The description of Gīlān is original and detailed but it may be based on the reports of the intelligence service of the Sāmānids at the time of their struggle with the Būyids for possession of Rayy.

² At that time usually known as "MS. Toumansky".

³ As already mentioned this name is most likely connected with the lore of the Oxus basin. Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār*, p. 35, mentions Afrīgh, the founder of the Khwārazmian dynasty, who built the castle of Fir in the year 616 of the Alexandrine era (A.D. 305). Arthanmūkh, the tenth shah of the dynasty was a contemporary of the Prophet of Islam. In 93/712 the fourteenth shah invited the Arabs to help him against his rebel brother. As a result the power of the dynasty was reduced but they continued to bear their title until the 22nd of them, Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad, was murdered in 385/995 (he was the fifth to bear an

The title of the book cannot be interpreted as "the limits of the World", but rather as a complex of boundaries within which the countries are contained. Thus the world is presented as a system of compartments the frontiers of which, according to the four points of the compass: East, North, West and South, are enumerated at the head of each chapter.

In my commentary to the *Ḥudūd* I have tried to ascertain the sources from which about one thousand names, or groups of names, were derived. My collation with other contemporary geographic texts has brought me to the conclusion that, apart from the *akhbār* (intelligence information)¹ the author's main sources were:

(a) I. Khurdādhbih's *Masālik wal-mamālik*, probably in a more complete form than the abridgment published in de Goeje's edition;

(b) the unknown book, which was also used by I. Rusta, Gardīzī, Sharaf al-dīn Ṭāhir al-Marvazī² etc., and which seems to be the now lost work of Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Jayhānī (earlier part of the tenth century A.D.).³ It must be noted that, according to a somewhat mischievous remark of Muqaddasi, p. 241, Jayhānī incorporated in his book the whole of the original work of I. Khurdādhbih—of course apart from his own valuable information.

(c) I wrote in 1937, p. XVIII: "Iṣṭakhri (< Balkhī) is without doubt the source most systematically utilised in the *Ḥudūd*". Balkhī's work is now lost but it may have already contained most of the names quoted in the *Ḥudūd*; on the other hand, copies of Iṣṭakhri's re-edition of Balkhī were bound to be spread in Khorasan because it was known that it was an improvement on the familiar work of a local scholar.

(d) A very important detail of the composition is that the author (ff. 5b, 8b, 25b, 33b, 37a) refers to a Map (*ṣūrat*) which he prepared and

Islamic name), see Sachau, *Zur Geschichte v. Khwārazm*, pp. 499–501. Barthold, *Ḥudūd*, p. 6, points out that the Farīghūnids appear on the stage about the time of the Sāmānid struggles with the Saffarids (end of the ninth century), i.e. at the time when the rule of the Afrīghids was limited and waning. A connection of the Farīghūnids with the dynasty of Khwārazm is not unlikely. Unfortunately, the report of the *Ḥudūd* on the Khwārazm is very brief (ch. 26, §21).

¹ See Gözgan, Gīlān, etc. However the term *akhbār* (see my translation pp. 55, 79, 83), is rather loosely used by the author with reference to written materials, or to what he had heard (*shanīdim*).

² See my edition of his passages on China, the Turks and India, 1942, pp. 6–8.

³ He is mentioned among the patrons of Balkhī, see Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, II, 141.

on which a few places seem to have been indicated which are omitted in the text (cf. chapter 26, §20). Moreover, I have suggested that the order in which some series of names are mentioned in the text (for example in India) can be explained by the fact that the author was reading them off his Map (and not grouping them in their natural sequence). It is known that Balkhī's text was likewise an explanation of a Map.¹

3

Summing up our remarks on the *Ḥudūd* we can say that:

1. The name of Ibn Farīghūn and his connections clearly point to the region of Gōzgān. Similarly both the dedication of the *Ḥudūd* and the particular competence of its author refer to the same region.

2. The periods of the activity of the two authors are not in opposition. Even if the author of the *Ḥudūd* was born in the beginning of the fourth/tenth century he must have been in his sixties when the composition of the *Ḥudūd* was begun in 372/982.

3. The striking patronymic of "Ibn Farīghūn", as we have tried to explain, suggests some relationship between him and the ruling house of Gōzgān. On the other side, we can use only the slender argument concerning the restraint noticeable in the dedication of the *Ḥudūd*. We have to admit that the works of the great authors of the early Khorasanian days look freer from the fulsome flattery of later times.² In any case the introduction of the *Ḥudūd* is particularly sober and contains no sign of any expectation of largesse. Its tone is not that of a dependent commoner, but of a man conscious of his position in society.

¹ In the lists of *al-Fihrist*, p. 138, line 24, and in Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, the geographical work of Balkhī is referred to as *Tafsīr šuvar kitāb al-samā' wal-'ālam li-Abī-Ja'far al-Khāzin*, "Explanation of the images of the Heaven and the World in the book of Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin". For the sake of simplicity the book has been called *Šuvar al-aqālīm* "Images (i.e. Maps) of the Climes". On Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri-I. Ḥauqal see now a summary in the comprehensive (919 pp.) posthumous work of Prof. I. Y. Kratchkovsky, *Arabskaya geograficheskaya literatura*, forming vol. IV of his "Selected works", Moscow 1957. See especially pp. 194–218: "the classical school of the tenth century geographers".

² See the introduction of the final version of the *Shāh-nāmah*, the dedication of Bīrūnī's *al-Athār al-bāqīya* to the Ziyārid Shams al-ma'ālī (p. 362 of Sachau's edition), etc. [More florid are the formulas used by Bīrūnī in his later work, the *Kitāb al-jamāhīr*, dedicated to the Ghaznavid Maudūd (432–40/1041–8), ed. F. Krenkow, 1335/1936, pp. 31, 267.]

4. It is risky to compare the styles of the two books written in different languages, especially as the text of the Arabic work is quite insufficiently known from a few quotations. One might notice only the similar trend of mind of the two authors who endeavoured to render their subjects as far as possible digestible to their readers by using the method of synoptic tables of *tashjīr*, or by a Map accompanied by a brief and clear description of the "compartments" of the world.

5. The *Ḥudūd* is written in Arabic, the international language of the time; therefore it has survived in several copies, of which the oldest, written in 393/1002, i.e. 21 years after the composition of the *Ḥudūd*, has emerged so far West as the Escorial library. The *Ḥudūd* is one of the oldest works composed in modern Persian, earlier than the *Shāh-nāmah*. The change of language from Arabic to Persian might be a token of the new literary tendencies encouraged under the Sāmānids. It would be no wonder if the local writer, who in the early part of the fourth/tenth century cultivated his Arabic, had followed the fashion of the time in a later composition of his. The novelty of the enterprise may have been responsible for the survival of only one copy of the *Ḥudūd*, found in Bukhara. Even so, it has been more fortunate than the *dīvān* of the famous Rudaki which has come down to us only in quotations.

6. Strangely enough, Ibn Farīghūn forgot to mention Geography in his "ramifications" (*tashjīr*) of the Tree of useful knowledge, although it was impossible for him not to know that among the works of his teacher (who died in 322/934) there was the important *Šuvar al-aqālīm* which, about the middle of the fourth/tenth century, was so eagerly re-edited and completed by Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal. The *Ḥudūd* was a presentation volume composed *ad hoc* for Ibn Muḥtāj, and as the tabulating of geography required a long preparation of the illustrative Map, it was perhaps advisable for a time to leave Geography out of the picture;¹ in later years the Map inherited from Balkhī may have stimulated the desire to write for the Farīghūnid of Gōzgān a book on a subject left out of the work dedicated to Ibn Muḥtāj.²

¹ Thus according to the list of contents of the *Ḥudūd*, as quoted by Ritter and Rosenthal, and as confirmed to me by Dr. Dunlop in a private letter of 23 February 1961.

² The size of a treatise like the *Ḥudūd*, namely 39 closely written folios, might have increased by a half the size of Ibn Farīghūn's encyclopedia (the two MSS. described by Ritter contain respectively 86 and 80 folios).

Such are the comparisons and considerations in favour of the assumption that the author of the *Ĵawāmi al-'ulūm* and the author of the *Ĥudūd* may be identical, but the arguments quoted are certainly indirect. Our aim has been only to indicate the direction in which future research may work. A Russian proverb says: "the game comes a-running towards an expert hunter", and, should there be any truth in our surmise, the hunters will be on the alert. If such an outstanding monument of the late twelfth century as the minaret of Jām, standing but a few miles off the main road following the Harī-rūd, was discovered only in 1957,¹ written sources throwing light on two interesting and isolated works may be lying somewhere close at hand. The task of discovering them should fall to the lot of the younger generation of scholars.

HŪRAXŠ

By M. MO'IN

Ĵamāl al-Dīn Ḥusein, the author of the Persian Dictionary entitled *Farhang-i Ĵahāngīrī* (written in 1005–17 H./A.D. 1596–1609), Muḥammad Ḥusein Burhān-i Tabrizī, in his *Burhān-i Qāṭi* (written in 1062 H./A.D. 1651–2), 'Abd-al-Rašīd Tatavī, the author of another Persian Dictionary entitled *Farhang-i Rašīdī* (written in 1077 H./A.D. 1666) have considered the word *Hūraxš* an equivalent for "the sun". The authors of later dictionaries like Steingass, Vullers, and Nāzīm al-Aṭibbā' have followed them. But, unfortunately, none of these authors has indicated his source.

During the Islamic period, as far as we know, the first person to mention *Hūraxš* was Šayx Šihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (549–87 H./A.D. 1154–91). Suhrawardī is the founder of the philosophical school entitled *Isrāq* (philosophy of "illumination" or, according to Prof. H. Corbin, "la théosophie de l'Orient des Lumières").

Reflecting ancient Iranian thought and beliefs in his works,¹ Suhrawardī has used the word several times:

1. He says in *Ḥikmat al-Isrāq*²: "... know that ... the king of the heavenly sagacious lights and of their power reaches the spheres by means of the stars; and thence the powers come into existence. A star is as a part of the sovereign absolute, *Hūraxš*, which is the talisman of *Šahrīr* (*Šahrīvar*), the light of strong brilliance, the cause of the day, the sovereign of the Heavens; homage to whom is necessary in the tradition of 'Illumination'".

2. Further in his *Kitāb al-Mašārī' val-Muṭāriḥāt*,³ describing

¹ Cf. Henry Corbin, *Oeuvres philosophiques et mystiques de Shihabaddin Yahya Suhrawardi*, Téhéran, 1952; Moḥ. Mo'in, *Philosophy of Illumination and the ancient Iranian Culture*, Tehran, 1950.

² Henry Corbin, *ibid.*, p. 149.

³ Šihābaddīn Yahyā as-Suhrawardī, *Opera Metaphysica et Mystica*, ed. H. Corbin, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 1945, p. 494.

¹ See A. Maricq, *Le minaret de Djam*, 1959.

the appearance of mysteries, he writes: "Sometimes the person spoken to becomes visible in a heavenly shape or in the shape of the heavenly great ones; and the threshold of reputable rapture in the world of *Hawargelyā*¹ is for the great sovereign *Hūraxš*, the greatest among the glorified corporeal beings, the supreme image of God according to the 'Illumination' . . .".

Commenting on this work, Šahrazūri (6th–7th century H./13th century A.D.) and Quṭb al-Dīn Šīrāzī (634–710 H./A.D. 1236–1311) explained: "It is the name of the sun in Pahlavi".²

Šadr al-Dīn Šīrāzī (died in 1050 H./A.D. 1640) in his *Comments on the commentary on Hikmat al-Iṣrāq*³ remarks that Suhrawardī had a prayer for every day of the week, and the Sunday prayer was that in which he mentioned *Raxš* (a corruption from *Hūraxš* or *Uraxš*).

According to these statements, it is clear that the lexicographers were right in attributing the meaning "sun" to the word.

Etymology: For the etymology of the word, the following suggestions have been made:

1. *Hūraxš* to be derived from Avestan *hvarə.xšaēta* "sun". Prof. H. Corbin was the first to suggest this etymology in his critical edition of *Hikmat al-Iṣrāq*⁴ and in his work entitled "Terre céleste et corps de Résurrection . . .".⁵ Dr. Z. Šafā, in his Litcrary History of Persia,⁶ accepted it. The difficulty here is the fact that Av. *xšaēta* changes into *šēt* in Pahlavi, *šēd* and *šīd* in Persian, and that Av. *hvarə.xšaēta* itself becomes *xwarxšēt* in Pahlavi, *xwaršēd* and *xuršīd* in Persian.

2. *Hūraxš* composed of prefix *hū-* "good" and *raxš/ruxš* "bright, shining";⁷ the compound thus meaning "beautifully bright", as an attribute of the sun; it being pointed out that the word was used in this sense in the "Prayer of *Hūraxš*", which is addressed to the sun: "Thou art the strong *Hūraxš*". This etymology has been proposed by Prof. Poure-Davoud; Prof. W. B. Henning points out that the length of the first vowel of *hūraxš* renders difficult a derivation from the Old Iranian prefix *hu-*, which had a short vowel.

¹ Cf. M. Mo'in, *Majalle-i Dāniškade-yi Adabiyyāt*, I, 3, pp. 78 sqq.

² Cf. Corbin, *Oeuvres phil.*, p. 149, note *Hūraxš*.

³ P. 357.

⁴ P. 149 n.

⁵ Zürich, 1954, p. 171, no. 33.

⁶ Vol. II, Tehran, 1336 H., p. 304.

⁷ Cf. *raxš* in Persian dictionaries.

3. Prof. Benveniste suggests that the origin may be *hvāraoxšan*, which means "shining or luminous by itself".

4. The original word may have been *Hūr-raxš*, composed of Persian *hūr* (Av. *hvarə*) "sun" and *raxš/ruxš* (cf. Av. *raoxšna*, etc.) "shining, luminous". In accord with Persian grammar one *r* was dropped from *Hūr-raxš*. This etymology, according to which the word may have been a fairly recent creation, is accepted by Prof. Henning. In Persian literature, the sun is mentioned frequently with attributes meaning "shining, bright"; e.g., Firdawsī says in the *Šāhnāma*:

بر افراخت خورشید رخشنده تاج زمین زرد شد کوه و دریا چو عاج¹

چو خورشید تابنده بنمود تاج زمین شد بکردار رخشنده عاج²

که تا رفت خورشید رخشان در آب در آمد شب تیره گون در شتاب³

نگون اندر آمد زیشت ستور شده تیره زو چرخ تابنده هور⁴

For this usage there are sufficient examples already in the Avesta, as *hvarə raoxšne* and *hvarə raočō* in Yasht 6, 1, and indeed the compound *hvarə.xšaēta* as understood by many scholars.

We read in the Arabic pamphlet entitled *Al-Dastūr wa da'wat al-mu'minīn lil-ḥuḍūr* "ارخشی *Uraxš*, the king of the planets, and the source of intelligence, understanding and life, the ruler of the country and the governors, the source of nights and days, and the cause of seasons".⁵

Two Prayers. There exists a collection of pamphlets belonging to Sayid Muḥammad Miškāt, Professor of Tehran University, which contains 30 pamphlets written in different languages; at one time it belonged to Axund Mullā Muḥammad Šāliḥ al-Kirāmī, the famous scholar of Safavid times.⁶ A number of learned men have written remarks on the pages of these pamphlets, which include *Kalimāt*

¹ Berūxīm edition, vol. 7, p. 2154.

² *ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 2174.

³ *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 398.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 263.

⁵ Cf. *Arba'a rasā'il-i Ismā'īliya*, annotated by 'Arif Tāmīr, p. 88.

⁶ According to p. 179 of the MS.

al-Taṣawwuf by Suhrawardī, *Iḥbāt-i ʿaṣṣar-i Muṣarrad* and *Iḥbāt-i wāḥid* by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī. The thirteenth pamphlet is named *Hūraxš* and contains two prayers called *Hūraxš-i kabīr* ("the great H.") and *Hūraxš-i ṣaḡīr* ("the small H."), the second being an epitome of the first. We bring here the Arabic text of the chief prayer, together with a translation:

هورخش الكبير للسهروردي قدس الله روحه

بسم الله القادر

اهلاً بالحي الناطق الانور والشخص الاظهر، والكوكب الازهر، سلام الله تعالى عليك وتحياته وبركاته. ايها النير الاعظم، والسيار الاشرف، الطالع لمبدعه، المتحرك في عشق جلال باريه بحركة فلكه، المتبريء عن قبول الخرق والكون والفساد والحركة المستقيمة. انت هورخش الشديد الغالب، قاهر الفسق، رئيس العالم، ملك الملائكة، سيد الاشخاص العلوية، فاعل النهار بامر الله، مالك رقاب الانوار المتجسدين بحول الله المطاع، الجرم النير الباهي الزاهر، العالم الحكيم الفاضل، اكبر اولاد القديس من الاضواء المتجسمين، خليفة نورالنور في عالم الاجرام، نورك ينتهي الى نوره، وقهرك من قهر ينتهي الى قهره، انت مثل لكبريائه، وانموذج من انموذجات بهائه، وحجته على عبادته، من اعطيته من نورك من الاجسام اضاء، ومن اسعدته بقوة الله سعد. تعطى الكواكب نورك، ولا تأخذ منها، وتكسوها البهاء والاشراق، سبحان من ضوئك ونورك، ومن شرف جلاله سيرك، وفي الفلك الرابع دورك، وفي وسط نظام الكل قررك. اسالك ايها الاب القديس، صاحب السلاطة والهيبة، كامل القوى، علّة تعاقب الحديد وتتابع الفصول، ان تسأل باسط ضوء نفسك الناطقة الشارقة، اباك وعلتك ومعشوقك ومبدأ حركتك الذي انت ظله وطلسمه وجميع الانوار القاهرة (و) العقول المجردة يسألوا السؤال اللائق بعالم السريد البريء عن التغير والتجدد اباهم وعلتهم ومعشوقهم، النور الاقرب، المبدع الاشرف، عقل الكل، المعلول الاعظم الاول، يسأل هو هكذا الهه واله الآلهة، منتهى العلل، اول الاوائل، ناظم العوالم، مبدع الكل، القيوم، نور النور، اله كل عقل ونفس وجسم اثيري وعنصري وبسيط ومركب، على النظام الاتم الاكمل، الله

الوحيد، واجب الوجود من سلطانه (ثم يسأل حاجته مثل ان يقول) ان ينور نفسي باللوامع القدسية والعلوم الالهية والفضائل العلوية ويجعلني من المشتاقين اليه ويعصمني عن الآفات النفسية والبدنية وان يكرمني في الدنيا والآخرة.

The Great Hūraxš

"In the name of omnipotent God. Greeting to the very resplendent rational everlasting one, the most manifest person, the brightest star! The salutation of God the exalted, His greetings and His blessings to thee! Oh greater luminary, most noble planet, rising for thy inventor, moving in the love of thy creator's glory by the movement of thy sphere!

"Thou art far from undergoing laceration, generation, corruption and direct movement. Thou art the strong and victorious Hūraxš, the vanquisher of the dark, the sovereign of the world, the king of angels, the master of celestial beings, the creator of the day by God's order, the proprietor of the incarnate lights of existence by the power of the obeyed God, the luminous matter, the shining bright one, the learned scholarly philosopher, the greatest sacred son of the corporeal lights, the successor of the light of lights in the material world.

"Thy light is taken from the light which leads to His light, and thy violence is taken from the violence which leads to His violence. Thou art the example of His grandeur, and the pattern of the patterns of His glory, and His evidence to His creatures.

"He who is granted a share of thy light, shall shine among the substances, and he who receives prosperity from thee by God's might, shall be prosperous. Thou givest thy light to the stars, but thou never takest from them; thou givest them from thy glory and illumination. Glorious is the one who grants thee light and lustre, who, by the power of the radiancy of his splendour, has moved thee and has caused thy circulation in the fourth sphere, and who has established thee in the middle of the universal system.

"Oh sacred father, owner of sovereignty and awe, possessor of complete powers, cause of the alternation of day and night and the pursuit of seasons! I beg thee to ask the spreader of the light of thy illuminating reasonable spirit, thy father, thy cause, thy beloved and the origin of thy movement, the one whose shadow and talisman thou art; (and I beg) all the victorious lights and immaterial minds to

make a request fit for the eternal world, which is beyond modification and renovation, to their father, their cause and their beloved, the nearest light, the most noble inventor, the universal logos, the greater first effect, so that he might beg his God and God of gods, the end of causes, the first of the first ones, the regulator of the worlds, the universal inventor, the self-existing one, the light of lights, the God of all the minds, spirits, ethereal and elemental, single and compound bodies according to the most complete and perfect system, the single God, the one self-existent by his sovereignty (here they have to make their request, e.g.): to make my spirit illuminated by the sacred resplendency and the divine sciences and heavenly virtues, to make me one of his devotees, to protect me from spiritual and bodily calamities, and to honour me in this World and the next."

This prayer deserves consideration from several points of view:

1. We may trace here the effects of the Zoroastrian and Mithraist religions.

2. We may compare it with the sayings of the authors of the pamphlets of Ixwān al-Şafā (the Brothers of Purity).¹

3. We may compare it with the writings on alchemy and related subjects, for example with the prayer addressed to the sun mentioned by Muḥammad, the son of Maḥmūd Āmulī, in his work entitled *Nafā'is al-funūn*,² where the author explains *simiyā* (enchantment).

FEMININE NOUNS IN -A IN WESTERN IRANIAN DIALECTS

By GEORG MORGENSTIERNE

Old Ir. -ā, characterizing the most important class of feminine nouns, was, together with other final vowels in polysyllabic words, dropped already in the W. Middle Ir. languages. It was, however, retained in Khotanese, Sogdian and Khorasmian. We also still find a final -a (-ā, -o) in E. Ir. languages, such as Pashto, Munji-Yidgha and, with some modifications, in W. Ossete.

In modern W. Ir. Henning¹ has drawn attention to the retention of fem. -a/ā in Takistani, and he compares Tak. *varā būmiā* "snow fell" with Semn. *vara biamiā*, where "both the noun and the verb have fem. endings". Recently Yarshater² has dealt with corresponding features in the Tati dialect of Kajal (thus, e.g. *karg-a bomia* "the hen came"), and I have³ tried to show that also Sivandi has retained a distinction of gender in various ways, i.e. also by having fem. nouns in unstressed -ā/e. Thus, e.g., *b'āzā* "she-goat", but *bāz'ā* "kid". Such feminines are found also in the dialects of S. Tat closely related to Tak.⁴ as well as in Ashtiyan and the neighbouring dialects of Vafs, Kahak and Amore.⁵

Dr. Kiyā has, in a letter, drawn my attention to the difference of stress between Asht. *'ua* fem. "water"; *v'arfa* fem. "snow", and *kiy'a* masc. "house". And Dr. Yarshater writes about Kajali:⁶ "In

¹ The Ancient Language of Azerbaijan, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1954, p. 161.

² *BSOAS*, XXIII, 1960, pp. 279 sqq.

³ Stray Notes on Persian Dialects, *NTS*, XIX, pp. 137 sqq.

⁴ Viz. those of Ishtaherd, Bermova (Ibrahimabad) and Sezgowa (Sagzabad), cf. Jalāl-i Āl Aḥmad, *Tāt-nišīnhā-yi bulūk-i Zahrā*, Tehrān, A.H. 1337.—The Tat. words have been taken from my own notations.

⁵ V. Dr. Sādiq Kiyā, *Gūyishā-yi Āstiyān*, Tehr., A.H. 1335 (with indication of fem. gender), and Prof. M. Moghdam, *Gūyishā-yi Vafs u Āstiyān u Tafriš (Īrān-Kūde, 11)*.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 279, note 2.

¹ Cf. *Rasā'ilu Ixwān al-Şafā*, ed. Xair-al-Dīn Zarkalī, part 4, Cairo, 1347, pp. 260–2.

² Tehran edition, 1309 H., part 2, p. 117.

these examples (*xasor'a* "wife's father", etc.) *-a*, unlike the fem. ending, is stressed". In Semnani we find, e.g., *v'ia* fem. "willow" (and also *p'ia* "father"), but *ki'a* "house" < **kataka-*. Cf., from Sivandi *b'āzā* "she-goat", but *bāz'ā* "kid" (diminutive in *-ā* < *-aka*). In Siv. *h'āmīle* "pregnant", < Ar.-Prs., the accent has been adapted to the general system of the dialect.¹

But I believe that a fem. *-a/e* can be traced, sporadically, also in some dialects of the Kashan-Isfahan region. Our material is, however, deficient and sometimes, apparently, contradictory. Where stress is not noted, it is also, in some cases, difficult to decide whether a certain word is a fem., or of the type going back to ancient *-aka*, like Prs. *bande*. Besides, some of the dialects in question possess, according to Mann-Hadank² an enclitic "determinative" *-ā*, which may lead us astray. But, at any rate, these possible relics in Central Dialects ought to be investigated without delay. Very probably such forms may now be restricted to the older generation of dialect speakers.

It may, I believe, not be without interest to give a list of probable feminines in *-a/e* in W. Ir. I shall restrict myself to words found in more than one group of dialects, or whose gender is supported by evidence from E. Ir., etc. Thus words recorded only in one of the groups (Semn.; S. Tat; Vafsi-Ashtiyani; Siv.; Kash.-Isf.) will not be included.³ Just as is the case in E. Ir., a few originally collective plurals have probably been transferred to the category of fem. sing.⁴

Almond: *Veimā* T.; *°a* Sg.B.Kah.; *vāma* A.; *°mma* Am.; *°wa* V.; *vēyām(e)* Siv.; but *vēm* Semn.

Anus: *Fena* B.Sg.; *funa* Kah.; *ōfna* Am.; *kuna* A.V.; *kī'ene* Siv.—Psht. *kūna*.

Apple: *Asife* (Henning *asīf*) T., *°a* B.; *asua* Sg.; *siya* A.V.; *°e* Kah.; *sōa* Am.; *sōw(e)* Siv.

Ass: *Hara* Kaj.; *xar(ā)* Semn.; *°a* B.Sg.A.; cf. *nara-xara* A. (fem.!) he-ass.

¹ Note that Psht. has as well stressed as unstressed *-a* in feminines.

² Kurd.-pers. Forschungen, III, 1, pp. 10, 126, 239.

³ Tak. words in *-e* not given in the following list are: *l'ānge* "bee"; *mā-gave* "cow"; *māye* "mother"; *šulāke* "apricot"; *velāvune* "hamvāre (level ground ?)".

⁴ The following abbreviations are used: Am(orei); A(shtiyani); Bal(ochi); B(ermowa); Far(izandi); Gur(ani); I(shtaherdi); J(awshaqani); Kah(aki); Kaj(ali); Mah(allati); Mei(mer); M(un)j(i); Nat(anzi); Orm(uri); Par(achi); Q(ohrudi); Semn(ani); S(ez)g(owa); Sh(u)gh(ni); Siv(andi); T(akistani); V(afsi); Von(ishuni); Yar(ani); Y(i)d(gha); Z(aza).—In W. Ir. I write *c, j* for *č, j*.

Bag, sack: *Āmb'una* Semn.; *amb°* Sg., *enb°* I.; *ambāna* B.; *āmb°* A.; *hambāne* Mei.

Belly: *Tāla* Semn.; *tela* A.

Blood: *Xuna* A.; *fine* Siv.; *x'īnā* Nat. (Mann).—Psht. *wīna*; Kurd. *xūn* fem.

Broom: *so/ō/izda* B.Sg.V.; cf. also *ri'unā* Semn.

Clay: *G'ele* Kah.Siv.

Co-wife: *X'ūye* T.; *xava* A.; *hava* V.

Daughter: *D'uta* Semn.; *titī*, *tete* (Henn. *titīye*) T.; *teteya* I.; *titia* B.Sg.; *deta* A.Kah.; *°e* Siv.; *dot(ā)* Far.; *°e* Yar.; *d'ute* Q.Keshe, Zefre; *°a* Nat.; *d'ete* Von.; *ditīye* Mah.

Daughter-in-law; Bride: *Vāye* T.; *vaya* I.; *veya* B.Sg.; *viwa* V.

Dust: *Gārda* V.A.Kah.; *gārde* Siv. *g'a°* Soi.

Eleagnus: *Senjia* B.Sg.; *sinjiya* A.Kah.Am.; *š°* V.—Psht. *sənzəla*.

Fig: *Anjila* Sg.; *°e* A.; *anjire* Siv.

Finger: *Angušta* B.Sg.; *engošda* A. (Kia; *engošt* Mogh.); *angošte* V.; *ong°* Am.; *g'use* Siv.—Psht. *guta*; Yd. *oguščo*; Z.bij. *ängišť* fem.

Fist: *Mešta* V.; *mošda* A.; *°ta* Am.—Mj. *māškio* fem.

Flea: *Keka* V.; *°ka* A.Kah.Am.; *k'āke* Siv.—Z.bij. *kāk* fem.

Flower: *Vela* Semn.B.Sg.V.Kah.Am.; *°e* T.Siv.—Av. *varəδā*.

Fly: *Magāze* T.; *maqasa* Am.A. (Kia; *maqəs* Mogh.); *messa* V.; *niāsa* (< **my-*? cf. Sherani Psht. *nyasai* mosquito < *my-*) B.Sg.—Yd. *moyuso*; Shgh. *maḡas* < **makasā*.

Goat: *Boza* Semn.A. (Kia); *be°* T.Sg.B.V.Am.A.(Mogh.); *b'eze* Siv.; *b'üzā* Soi.—Psht. *vza*; Shgh. *vaz* < **buzā*.

Gourd: *Kadua* B.; *ce°* Sg.; *kodrwa* I.; *°ua* A.; *°uwa* V.; *kōdōa* Am.; *°e* Kah.

Grape: *Āng'ir(a)* Semn.; *ängüre* T.; *°erra* B.Sg.; *engura* A.(Kia); *ang°* V.Am.; *ingure* Kah. *ang'ire* Siv.—Yd. *agidro*.

Hail: *Tīyergā* Semn.; *tiarsa* B.Sg.; *tirsa*, *terse* V.; *tiyərša* Am.; *tiyarga* A. (Kia).

Heap of grain: *Rāša* B.Sg.—Psht. *riyāša*.

Hen: *Karga* Semn.B.Kaj.A.Kah.Am.; *kə°* V.A.; *ca°* Sg.; *k'a°* Nat.; *k'arg(e)* Q.; *k'arge* Soi (Mann; *karg* HSch.); *karge* Nat. (Polak). Cf. *māre* Siv.—Psht. *čirga*.

Hole: *Hola* A. *°lla* V.; *hōle* Mei. (*hōl* fem. J.); *fāle* Siv.

Husband's sister: *Vesita* Sg.; *fesida* B.; *v'isite* T.V.—Etymology unknown. A reconstruction < **vi/abi*—*six/ftā* gives no useful associations.

Irrigation channel: *ḡua* Semn.B.Sg.A.; *ḡōa* Am.; *ḡ'ūe* Siv.; cf. *hī'e* T.—Psht. *ḡowa* (loan-word); O.Prs. *yauviyā*.

Knife: *Kārda* A.; *k'ārde* Siv.—Psht. *cārə*; Orm. *kālī*; Z. *kārdī*; Kurd. *kērd* fem., etc., point to **kartyā*.

Locust: *Malaqa* V.; *°qqa*; *melāqqa* A. (Kia).—Av. *maḏaxā*.

Louse: *Esbez(a)* Semn.; *isbiye* T.; *esbeja* Sg.Kah.Am.; *sebeja* B.; *esbeza* A.V.; *p'eše* Siv.—Psht. *spəḡa*; Shgh. *sapaḡ* < **spišā*.

Millet: *G'orse* T.—Yd. *ḡavarso*. But note Prs. *ḡāvars(e)*.

Needle: *Darzena* B.Sg.; *de°* A.(Kia); *derzen* Mogh.).

Night: *Šowa* B.Sg.; *šava/e* A.; *šōwa* Am.; *šōuw(e)* Siv.; *šāvā* Nat. (Mann), *šūe* (Polak). But *šəw* Semn., *šow* V.—Psht. *špa*.

Nose: *Vāni(ā)* Semn.; *venia* B.Sg.; *viniya* V.A. Am.—Av. *vaēnā*.

Partridge: *Kowga* V.A. (Kia, Mogh.); *°ka* Am.; *kōwka* Kah.; *k'ōuge* Siv.; *k'aukā* Soi (Mann), *qāvqe* (Andreas), *qewy* (HSch.)

Pea: *Nax'uye* T.; *noxuya* Sg.; *naxua* B.; *naxowe* V.; *noxiya* A.; *noxue* Kah.; *noxowa* Am.—Z. bij. *nāh'āi* fem.

Pear: *Ombereya* I.—Yd. *obriio*.

Plain, steppe: *Dašda* A. (Kia); *d'āšte* Siv.; *dāšte* Soi.—Gur.känd. *dāšt* fem.

Plum: *Alova* B.; *gow-aleva* Sg.; *aluwa* V.A.Kah.; *āluya* Am.

Pregnant: *Ovīre* Mei.; *āw'ire* Soi (HSch.).

Road: *Rāha* B.Sg.; *rāa* A. (Kia).—Semn. *rey* fem.; Psht. *lār(a)* fem.; Z.kor. *rī(yā)* (?).

Rue: *Esbanda* (Mogh.).—Psht. *spānda*; Oroshori *sepān* < **spantā*.

Salt: *Namaka* B.A.; *nemaka* Am.; *°ca* Sg.—Psht. *mālga*; Sarikoli *namaḏḡ*.

Sheep (fem.): *Miša* Semn.B.Sg.V.A.; *°e* T.Kah.—Shgh. *maḡ*.

Shovel: *X'uye* T. (= *x'uye* co-wife); *°a* I.Sg.; *xoya* B.—Shgh. *fay* < **fiyā*; Psht. *waziri xwai(yē)* fem., but Psht. *xwai*; Yd. *fīa* masc.

Sister: *Xuāka* Semn.; *xāke* T.; *°a* B.V.Kah.; *°ca* Sg.; *xo/uvāka* A.(Kia); *xuwāxa* Am.

Snare: *Duma* I; *dāma* A.—Psht. *lūma*.

Snow: *Var(a)* Semn.; *°ā* T.; *farfa* B.Sg.; *fə°* V.; *və°* A.; *varfa* Kah.Am.; *vārfe* Siv.—Psht. *wāwra*.

Spade: *Bile* T.; *°a* Sg.A.(Kia)Am.; *bara* B.; *bāra* I.; *bahra* V.A. (Mogh.); *bāla* Afdari.—But some of the forms may perhaps be masc.

Spindle: *Dika* Semn.; *devka* B.; *duka* A.(Kia); *dīke* Siv.

Tear: *Ārse* T.; *arsa* B.Sg.; *aška* A.; *asle* Soi.—Psht. *oša*.

Tree: *Dāra* Semn.B.Sg.; *espi-dāre* Siv. poplar.—Kurd. *dār* fem.

Tree (willow, etc.): *Vena-dāra* Semn. willow; *v'ane* Siv. tree; *benā* Nat. (Polak) tree, but Q. *ben'a*.—Psht. *wəna*; Shgh. *wān* < **wanā*.

Vein: *Ria* Semn.; *riya* V.A. (Mogh.; *rega* Kia) Kah.; *raga* Am.; *rāge* Siv.—Yd. *rīyo*.

Vine: *Mīwa* B.; *miwa* Sg.; *meva* V.; *ma°* A.; *mō°* Am.; *mīya* Kah.

Walnut: *Yuza* Semn.; *usa* I.—Yd. *oyuzo*.

Water: *Vūye* T.; *owa* B.Sg.; *u(w)a* A.Kah.; *auwa* V.; *owwa* Am.; *ōwe* Siv.—Psht. *obə*; Kurd. *āv* fem.

Watermill: *'Āra* Semn.; *°ā* Soi; *āhre* V.—Doubtful if fem., cf. also Biyabuneki *ārā*, Afdari *ār'ei*.

Willow: *V'ia* Semn.; *vi(y)a-dār* Sg.V.; *v'ie* Siv. Nayini (Morgenstierne).—Psht. *wəla*.

Woman, wife: *ḡāniā* Semn.; *ḡāna* Kaj.; *zāne* (wife), *zeinie* T.; *zāniā* B.Sg.; *zene* V.; *°a* Am.; *zāna* A. (wife), *zaneya* (female); *zane* Kah.; *jənā* Nat.; *ḡāne* Yar.; *y'ene* Q.; *yan'a* Soi (Mann, but *ḡe/in* Andreas, HSch.).

Wood, stick: *Cuwa* V.A.; *cue* Kah.; *c'ūga* Soi (Mann), regarding the secondary -g- cf. *sigā(h)* black=Q. *sigō*.

Wool: *Pazma* V.A.Kah.Am.; *poime* Nat. (Polak).

Worm: *Kelma* B.Sg.; *kerma* V.A.

Year: *sāla* Semn. (Christensen), V.—Kurd. *sāl* fem.; Par. *saḡ* < **sardā*; cf. W. Oss. *sārdā* (summer).

Yoke-peg: *Sāme* T.; *sama* A., Shali (Khalkhal).—Cf. Av. *simā*.

As well in Christensen's as in my own notations of Semn. there is some vacillation, difficult to explain, in the use of forms with and without -a.¹ No forms in -a are given by de Morgan (e.g., *var* "snow"; *bōz* "goat"; *dōt* "daughter"), nor are any such forms found in the list of words I have taken down from Biyabuneki, a dialect very closely related to that of the town of Semnan itself.

Also in the Central Dialects the situation seems, if we are to judge from Zhukowskiy's texts, to be a similar one. Thus Q. *yen* "woman" in the Vocabulary,² but *ye/ane* pp. 2, 10; 16, 27, 28; 23, 33, 35; *dut* "daughter" Voc., but *d'ute* p. 2, 15; *karg* "hen" Voc. and p. 4, 21, but *k'arge* p. 4, 24. It will be noted that it is only in these three words, all

¹ Cf. NTS, XIX, p. 75.

² Materialy, I.

of which denote female beings, that the final vowel is found in more than one of the Central Dialects.¹

It is impossible, from the material at our disposal, to decide if an ancient final vowel has been sporadically retained in fem. words in Gurani and Zaza. Note, e.g., Z.siw. *jinē*, bij. *šin'i*; Gur. awr. *žān(ā)* "woman"; Z.kor. *v'aure*; Gur.känd. *vārwa(ā)*, awr. *wāurā* "snow"; Z. (Lerch) *k'ärge*; Gur. känd. *kāri'ā*, awr. *kārgiā* "hen".

The retention of a final vowel derived from *-ā* is not completely coextensive with the preservation of the category of gender. Thus Shgh. distinguishes between masc. and fem., but the fem. final *-ā* or *-ī* is reflected only in the umlaut. Thus, e.g., *vērj* "mare" < **bāračī* (*vōrj* masc. < **bāraka*); *šāf* "saliva" < **xafā*, cf. W. Oss. *xāfā* "mucus". Cf. also Shgh. *can* "bow" < **drunā*; *šam* "vulva" < **dumā* (but *dum* "tail"); Roshani *raxč* (prob. for *rašč*) "nit" < **riškā*, etc.

In Farizandi the only trace of ancient *-ā* in a noun is *dot(ā)* "daughter", while gender is well preserved in the verb, where it is better protected as an integral part of the inflexional system. Cf., e.g., Christensen² p. 144 *ko-šo?* "where is he?" *ko-štā?* "where is she?" Also *bā-štā* "she went", p. 230, 11, is a fem. pret., and not a perfect, as stated §72. Cf. also *hā-čāštā* "she sat down" (pp. 204, 5; 230, 17).

It is possible that some details given in this preliminary survey will have to be revised or modified. But it is equally possible that the thorough survey of Ir. dialects, which is so urgently needed, will reveal that this interesting archaism, together with other, unsuspected ones, extends over a still larger area than apparent from the material so far available.³

¹ The names given to the dialects by various recorders do not always correspond with one another. Thus Mann's Soi and Polak's Natanzi both agree better with Zhuk's Qohrudi than with, respectively, the Soi of Andreas and Houtum-Schindler, and the Nat. of Christensen. This will appear, as regards Mann, from his Soi words such as *āftōū* "sun"; *guh'uz* "walnut"; *kavūt'ār* "dove"; *m'ārjī* "sparrow"; *māl'i* "cat"; *duh'ūn* "mouth"; *isba* "dog"; *yan'a* "woman"; *cās* "eye"; *asle* "tear"; *vujūj* "small"; *nūn* "he", as well as from the verbal endings. From Polak's Nat. note *bena* "tree"; *muldschin* "cat"; *kārgē* "hen"; *yena* "woman"; *merud* "eyebrow".

² Contributions à la dialectologie iranienne (1930).

³ One example of the surprises which may be in store for us is Ashtiyani (Moghdam, *op. cit.*, p. 127) *farzandī ki zan az šauhar-i digar dārad*. To the best of my knowledge this word has not been recorded from any other Ir. language. But it turns up in Skt. *anyā-jāta* (twice in the Rigveda, and once in a late anthology) "begot by another man (than the husband)".

"YEARS" IN ROYAL CANONS

By O. NEUGEBAUER

In congratulating an octogenarian on his achievements, we have a fairly accurate idea what 80 years mean. Ancient and mediaeval astronomers—and modern historians—were often in a less fortunate position. It is certainly no mean achievement to be able to say how many days elapsed between a lunar eclipse that occurred in the month Skirophorion under the Athenian archon Phanostatos¹ and another eclipse seen in Alexandria in the seventeenth year of Hadrian, Payni 20/21.² The possibility of answering correctly such a question rests, in antiquity as well as in modern times, on the same two foundations: the existence of a time scale not tampered with by arbitrary changes, and lists which relate local calendars and historical events to this fixed time scale.

In antiquity the "Egyptian year" of 365 days each provides the time scale for chronological purposes. The modern counterpart is the reckoning with "julian days" (day 0 = —4712 Jan. 1), or, for historical purposes, the "julian year" of 366 days length if its number is divisible by 4, otherwise of 365 days.

The correlation of Egyptian years with historical events was established in antiquity by means of "royal canons" which relate conventionally adjusted regnal years of individual rulers to complete Egyptian years. It is a misnomer to call such chronological tables "Ptolemaic canon". Ptolemy's "Almagest" never contained such a canon (in spite of assertions to the contrary often made in modern literature), but we know that a βασιλέων χρονογραφία had been included in his "Handy Tables",³ which are, however, no longer extant. Theon, in the latter half of the fourth century, refers to a

¹ Almagest IV,11 (p. 341,10 Heib.): —381 June 18 = julian day 1582066.

² Almagest IV,6 (p. 314,18): +133 May 8 = jul. d. 1769762.

³ As a προκανόνιον, according to Ptolemaeus, Opera II, p. 160, 8 Heib.

κανὼν τῶν βασιλευῶν in his introduction¹ to his "Handy Tables", but the earliest extant version of a royal canon of this type seems to be the tables of the Emperor Heraclius² (610–41). It may be hoped that Ptolemy's version is (to the extent possible) identical, as is generally assumed, with the version known to us only from a time five centuries later.³ On the other hand, there is no reason whatsoever to think that royal canons for astronomical purposes did not exist long before Ptolemy.

The only certain information that we have of Ptolemy's canon in his Handy Tables is the fact that they are related to a fixed era, namely, the years of Philip Arrhidaeus. This fact has undoubtedly contributed much to the spread of the use of continuous eras. The common acceptance of eras such as the era of Diocletian or, later, of the Byzantine world era would have made time reckoning a simple matter and royal canons superfluous.

In actual fact, however, a new ambiguity had been created by the introduction of a reckoning with julian years—either in their Alexandrian form with Egyptian months, beginning with Thoth 1 = Aug. 29 (or 30), or in the Roman form. Finally, with Islamic astronomy a new form of years appeared on the scene: the schematic lunar years of a 30-year cycle, accompanied by a revival of the intercalation-free Egyptian years in the form of the years of the era Yazdigerd. The net result for mediaeval chronographers was a situation as complex as the one from which the Alexandrian astronomers had extricated themselves.

Thanks to such outstanding works as Bīrūnī's "Chronology", solid chronological knowledge remained alive among professional Islamic astronomers. But the so-called revival of western astronomy, centering in Spain, proceeded on a much lower level, operating more with a collector's spirit than with the mind of critical scholarship.

¹ That is the short introduction, published by Halma, *Commentaire de Théon I* (Paris, 1822), p. 31, 31.

² Cf. Usener, *Fasti Heracliani*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Auctores antiquissimi* 13,3, pp. 386–410.

³ A few papyrus fragments suffice to demonstrate the existence of variants. Cf. P. Ryl. 27 (col. III, 75ff.), P. Oxy. 35 (perhaps non-astronomical since no summation seems to be given), and a small fragment from a codex from Oxyrhynchus, to be published by Dr P. Sattler in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*. I owe the knowledge of this text to the kindness of Prof. E. G. Turner and Dr P. Sattler.

One illustration of this is the following discussion of a royal canon from the twelfth century.

In the Latin version of al-Khwārizmī's astronomical tables, extant in several copies from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,¹ we find as the first table a list of "Tempora quae transierunt inter regna diversorum regum", giving intervals in years, months, and days.² This should furnish an easy check for the epoch dates of the eras listed, provided one knew what "year" and "month" means. In fact, however, one has to proceed in the opposite direction. Assuming that the epochs mentioned represent correctly the dates of known astronomical epochs, one must make the given numbers of years and months agree with the known intervals. For the "months" we make the plausible assumption that schematic months of 30 days each are meant. Then the meaning of "year" can be found for each interval by dividing the proper number of days by the number of years given in the canon. The result is very striking. For all years *before* "Alexander" (which is actually the Seleucid era in its Syrian norm, beginning —311 Tishri 1 = Oct. 1 = jul. day 1607739), the "years" are *Egyptian* years. Thus we find that the "diluvium" is actually the epoch date of the Kaliyuga, Chaitra 1 = —3101 Febr. 17 = jul. day 588465. The era Nabonassar begins, as expected, on Thoth 1 = —746 Febr. 26 = jul. d. 1448638, and the era Philip on Thoth 1 = —323 Nov. 12 = jul. d. 1603398.

After "Alexander", however, the "years" are reckoned as *julian* years, leading to the correct dates for the Spanish era (—37 Jan. 1), the Christian era (+1, Jan. 1), Diocletian 1 (Alex. Thoth 1 = 284 Aug. 29), and Hijra 1 (622 July 15 = Muh̄ar. 1). The only exception is the interval between the era Hijra and the era Yazdigerd which is again to be reckoned in Egyptian, i.e. Persian, years.³

A similar case is found in al-Farghānī's *Elements of Astronomy*, translated into Latin by John of Spain in 1173, and by Gerard of

¹ Published by Suter in the *Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk., Skrifter* 7 ser., *Hist.-filos.* Afd. III, 1 (1914). I am preparing a supplementary study for publication.

² Associated with Suter's text (p. 109) is a multiplication table for 28 which is in part repeated in Table 3. It has nothing to do with the present table and is absent from the similar table in the *Corpus Christi College MS* 283, fol. 114r.

³ In the above computation I had to make the following emendations of day numbers: line 4 read 18 instead of 17; line 10 read 15 for 17; lines 12 and 13 read 2 for 0.

Cremona (before 1175).¹ In the latter's version we find in chapter 1, 18 the statement "Quod ergo est inter eram Nabuchodonosor et eram Iezdairt 1379 anni persici et 3 menses et illud quod est inter eram Alexandri Philippi et eram Iezdairt est 955 anni et 3 menses; et illud quod est inter eram Alexandri et eram Iezdairt est 942 anni et 259d". The first two statements are indeed correct for Persian years. The interval "from Alexander" (—311 Oct. 1) to Yazdigerd, however, has to be reckoned in julian years (ignoring for the total half a day).

This is only one, but a typical, example of the composite and often contradictory character of mediaeval tables. Without being aware of such internal inconsistencies, modern scholars can easily be misled to reconstruct chronological systems that never existed.

LE PALMIER A KHUR

Notes de dialectologie iranienne, I

Par G. REDARD

L'oasis persane de Khur est située dans le Biyābānak (Dašt-e Kavir), à 33° 52' de latitude N et 55° 08' de longitude E; son altitude est légèrement supérieure à 900 m.¹ On y compte un millier de maisons en pisé, abritant quelque 3000 personnes dont la principale ressource est la palmeraie.

Le parler de Khur est rangé parmi les dialectes centraux de la Perse,² avec ceux des petites oasis environnantes: 'Abbāsābād au nord, Čāhmalek et Farrokhi (nom local Farvi) au nord-ouest, Čupānān, Garmāb et Irāj au sud-ouest, Mehrejān au sud, etc.³ Cette classification est provisoire: les parlers centraux n'admettent pas un ensemble d'isoglosses spécifiques et l'aire en est encore fort mal connue. Ainsi on ne possède à ce jour, sur le khuri, que deux solides articles de W. Ivanow parus en 1926 et 1930,⁴ et, sur le dialecte très voisin de Farrokhi, deux notes de R. N. Frye⁵ et S. Kiā.⁶ En aucun cas, les matériaux publiés n'ont été recueillis sur place.

¹ Mesures établies le 17.12.1951 par notre compagnon de voyage Murray Barr. Khur (on a maintenu ici *kh* = *x* et *u* = *ū* dans les noms propres) appartient aujourd'hui au 10ème ostān—celui d'Iṣfahān—et au šahrestān de Nā'in.

² Voir, en dernier lieu, G. Morgenstierne, *Neu-iranische Sprachen*, dans *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1ère partie, vol. IV, 1, Leyde, 1958, p. 170-2.

³ La circonscription compte 18 villages et 13490 habitants, selon le *Farhang-e joḡrāfiā-ye Irān* 10, 1332/1953, p. 80, où il est curieusement affirmé que seul le persan est parlé à Khur; voir aussi Habib Yağmā'i, *La région de Jāndaq et Biyābānak*, dans *Majallé-ye mardom šenāsi*, 2e année, fasc. 1, Téhéran 1er trimestre 1337/1958, p. 42-64 (où sont reproduites, sans indication de source, sept de nos photographies).

⁴ Two dialects spoken in the Central Persian Desert, *JRAS*, 1926, p. 405-31; il s'agit des parlers de Khur-Mehrejān et d'Anārak, gros bourg à 82 km au nord-est de Nā'in, à 33°16' lat. N et 53°43' long. E (M. Barr).—Notes on the dialect of Khūr and Mihrijān, *Acta Orient.* 8, 1930, p. 45-61.

⁵ Note on Farvi, a dialect of Biyābānak, *Oriens* 2, 1949, p. 212-15.

⁶ Yāddāšti dar bāre-ye guyeš-e Farvigi, *Majallé-ye Dāneškade-ye Adabiyyāt* 2/1, Téhéran, 1333/1954, p. 34-41.

¹ Edited by Francis J. Carmody, *Al Farghani, Differentie Scientie Astro-rvm*, Berkeley, 1943.

Deux enquêtes nous ont permis d'étudier de près quelques-uns de ces dialectes, principalement ceux d'Anārak, de Farrokhi et de Khur. La première, en décembre 1951, fut plutôt une reconnaissance, Khur n'ayant été qu'une étape d'un long voyage iranien. La seconde, en novembre 1959, a été, en revanche, menée de façon systématique. Les matériaux récoltés sont réunis dans un volume en préparation, qui comprendra une grammaire descriptive, des textes, un vocabulaire étendu, comparé et, dans la mesure du possible, étymologique, où l'ethnographie et la terminologie technique tiennent une place importante.

En hommage à S. E. Taqizādeh, qui nous a été d'un secours inestimable dans la mise en chantier de l'*Atlas linguistique de l'Iran*—dont le *Questionnaire*, précisément, fut rempli à Khur pour la première fois, nous en extrayons ces quelques notes ayant trait au palmier et que nous avons voulues purement descriptives. En sont donc écartées les discussions étymologiques, comme y sont négligés des rapprochements d'autant plus hasardeux que devient plus grande la technicité du lexique et, par conséquent, plus lacunaire notre information. Enfin, les limites imposées ne nous ont pas permis de traiter les conditions de culture, la production et le commerce, l'irrigation et le régime foncier de l'oasis, qui auront naturellement leur place dans une étude d'ensemble.

La palmeraie¹ flanque le bourg au nord et à l'est. Son contenu est difficile à estimer: Sven Hedin, qui a passé à Khur en février 1906, dit qu'on y comptait plus de 10000 arbres avant le rigoureux hiver de 1903 qui en fit périr 4500²—nous sommes à la limite septentrionale du

palmier-dattier; il y en a certainement plus de 10000 aujourd'hui, mais le chiffre de 150000 qu'avancent les habitants est excessif. Protégée du sable par de hauts murs *dōwal*, faits de plusieurs étages de pisé *čind*, la palmeraie est divisée en enclos *kāšō* plus ou moins vastes; on trouve aussi des palmiers dans les jardins *bōsō* du quartier d'habitation.¹

Les palmiers *mōg*² (*Phoenix dactylifera* L.) ont en moyenne 7 à 10 m de hauteur; quelques-uns atteignent 15–17 m. Ils ne produisent en général pas de fruits avant 15 ans et deviennent plus que centenaires. Dans chaque enclos, on compte deux arbres mâles *mōg-é nar*, qui ne produisent pas de dattes, pour une centaine ou plus d'arbres femelles *mōg-é mayē*; tant que les plants sont jeunes, il est impossible d'en connaître le sexe. Le pollen *gārd-é nar*, récolté dans la fleur mâle *nar-é mōg*, est répandu par le jardinier *rayāt* sur les stigmates des fleurs femelles.

Les racines de l'arbre *rišō* sont très profondes. Le tronc *dāvil* (aussi *tanā*, plus récent, cf. p. *tané*) est cylindrique, hérissé des bases de stipes *sāyari*, coupés au fur et à mesure de la croissance ou dès qu'ils s'étiolent (15–20 par an; Pl. VIII, fig. 1 n° 1). On coupe de même les rejets *lous* qui poussent à la base, et les branches qui réapparaissent le long du tronc *bižā*. Le dattier qui donne des dattes sèches est dit *rasi*, la branche sèche *kaženg*.

Le stipe *bērāšk* peut atteindre 4 m (fig. 1 n° 2); on en compte 50 à 80 par arbre, et on y distingue trois parties: la base *kāvāšk* (fig. 1 n° 3) qui s'élargit à l'attache en spatule; la partie médiane *bāskin* (fig. 1 n° 4), garnie d'épines dures *mā'r(-é mōg)*; la feuille pennée terminale, ou *bērāšk* proprement dit (fig. 1 n° 5).

Entre les stipes du bouquet abonde un tissu fibreux *pīj* ou *pīč-ō mōg* (fig. 1 n° 6), très résistant et d'un brun roux.³ L'inflorescence ou régime *hūž* (fig. 1 n° 7) se développe à l'intérieur d'une spathe *kāvilē*

¹ Outre l'ouvrage général de Gatin, *Les palmiers*, Paris, 1912, voir notamment: V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustierte*, 6e éd. (par O. Schrader), Berlin, 1894, p. 262–75; l'article *Phoenix* de Stier dans Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, XX, 1, col. 386–404; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin, 1897, p. 227–30, avec bibliogr. p. 226 (je dois cette référence, ainsi que quelques autres concernant le monde arabe, à R. Gelpke); l'excellente monographie de G. Sigwarth, *Le palmier à Djanet. Etude linguistique*, Alger, Institut de recherches sahariennes de l'Univ., Monogr. région. 1, s.d. (1956?); sur le palmier à Khur, je signale, pour mémoire, l'art. de vulgarisation (sans terminologie) de Abulqāsam Yağmā'i sur "l'arbre qui ne connaît pas d'automne" dans *Dāneš Amuz*, Téhéran 5 de 1338/déc. 1959, p. 15–20, avec trois de nos photographies.

² *Zu Land nach Indien*, Leipzig, 1910, II, p. 4. Aucune indication à ce sujet dans les relations de voyageurs modernes qui ont précédé ou suivi Hedin: MacGregor 1875, H. B. Vaughan 1888, O. von Niedermayer 1912, A. Gabriel 1928 et 1933.

¹ C'est pourquoi, sans doute, il n'y a pas de terme particulier pour désigner la palmeraie (p. *xormāstān*), comme p. ex. baškardi *šahr* que donne I. Gershevitch, *Travels in Bashkardia*, *Royal Central Asian Society Journal* 46, 1959, p. 217.

² Cf. p. ex. *mōg* "palmier" chez A. Eqtedāri, Farhang-e Lārestāni, Téhéran, 1334/1955, p. 200; nous avons relevé bal. *mōk* (Dezak), *mač* (Zabol), *māč* (Cāhbahār). M. Henning nous rappelle phl. *muy*, de même sens.

³ Allegroforme *pīž*, ar.-p. *līj*. Cf. p. ex. bašk. *pīš* "dwarf-palm" (*Chamaerops humilis* ou *ritchiana*) Gershevitch, art. cité, p. 215; bal. *phīš* "id." Gilbertson, *Engl.-Bal. coll. dict.* II, p. 472.

qui se dresse et s'ouvre vers la mi-esfand (début mars); l'arbre en porte de 2 à 20, mais on n'en laisse subsister que 4 à 5 afin de ne pas nuire à la santé du plant et à la qualité du fruit. La tige *tāmbār* (fig. 1 n° 8) se ramifie en pédoncules *tèrènt* terminés par une petite cupule *koloû* ("chapeau") qui abrite la base de la datte *horma* (dans le langage enfantin *kaka*).¹

La datte reçoit des noms divers suivant sa qualité, son suc *dušoû* et son degré de maturité: *horma-é bārpeid* ou *bārpež*,² d. bien mûre, qui a mûri sur l'arbre; *horma-é hūži*, d. détachée et exposée au soleil jusqu'à maturité; *nēmva*, d. à demi mûre; *kèlu*, d. non mûre; *pèšk*, d. de palmier non fécondé, sans graine (noyau) *pèšk*,³ ce dernier terme s'appliquant aussi au jeune dattier qui a poussé naturellement, d'un noyau jeté au hasard; *kèlu-é pèšk*, d. petite et sans noyau; *kaškèlò*, d. desséchée avant maturité, qui tombe—ces deux dernières ne sont bonnes qu'à nourrir les chèvres et les moutons.⁴ Il y a, de plus, une dizaine de variétés de dattes: *tēmbū*, *xaščārg*, *zarāžg*, *sèhèškèñ*, *souzhorma*, *γazb*, *karmuni*, *kèlupéžèn*, *kolux*, *hārak*, *hāšgènoû*;⁵ ces termes, dont le commentaire ne peut trouver place ici, font référence tantôt à l'aspect du fruit (*souzhorma* "d. verte"), tantôt, le plus souvent, à son origine: *karmuni* "d. de Kermān", *hārak*=p. *xārak* "d. de l'île du golfe Persique ainsi nommée", etc.⁶

¹ P. *xormā*, phl. *xurmā*: Grdr. I, 1, p. 265; J. D. Kapadia, Gloss. of Pahl. Vend. p. 214; I. Pur-e Dāvud, Hormazdnāmē, Téhéran, 1331/1953, p. 74, etc. Etymologie obscure: le parthe *'mr'w* (*amrāw* Henning, BSOAS 13, 1949-50, p. 645¹) montre que *x-* est secondaire, cf. aussi l'emprunt arm. anc. *armav* (Horn, Grdr. I, 2, p. 67, à la suite de Hübschmann). Usuel dans les dialectes: bal. *xurma* (Gilbertson II, p. 472), *hormag* (Zabol, mais *nā Čānbahār!*), etc.; noter tāliš *xōmō* avec chute de *r* et allongement compensatoire (Grdr. I, 2, p. 55 et cp. *gōm* "garm, chaud" chez B. V. Miller, Talyšskij jazyk, Moscou, 1953, p. 44); sōi *khārūn* "Datteln" (pl. en -*un*) donné par Mann-Hadank, Kurd.-pers. Forsch. III, 1, p. 251, est difficile à expliquer (coquille pour *khārmūn*?)

² Cf. p. *bārpoxt* et khuri *pèidari*, régime tardif dont les fruits ne sont pas parvenus à maturité.

³ On notera l'opposition *pèšk* : *pèšk*; on emploie *pèšku* pour le noyau des autres fruits.

⁴ Cf. ar.-p. *daqal* "datte de mauvaise qualité"; cet usage est connu à Khabīš (NE de Kermān), selon A. Gabriel, Durch Persiens Wüsten, Stuttgart, 1935, p. 216. Ailleurs on utilise à cette fin les noyaux préalablement amollis dans l'eau; cf. déjà Strabon 16.1.14.

⁵ Les termes 1,4,8,11 ont été relevés par A. M. Ruhbakhshan, le jeune enquêteur de l'Atlas qui nous accompagnait en 1959; *kolux* est tiré des notes d'un autre accompagnant, M. B. Farahvashi, qui le traduit par *xormā-i fārs*.

⁶ Kermān était, au X^e s. déjà, renommée pour ses dattes, cf. Mez, Die Renaissance des Islāms, Heidelberg, 1922, p. 408s. Il y a d'autres productions



Fig. 1. Palmier

[Dessin H. Pur-Karān]



Fig. 2. Tressage des folioles

[Photo. G. R.]

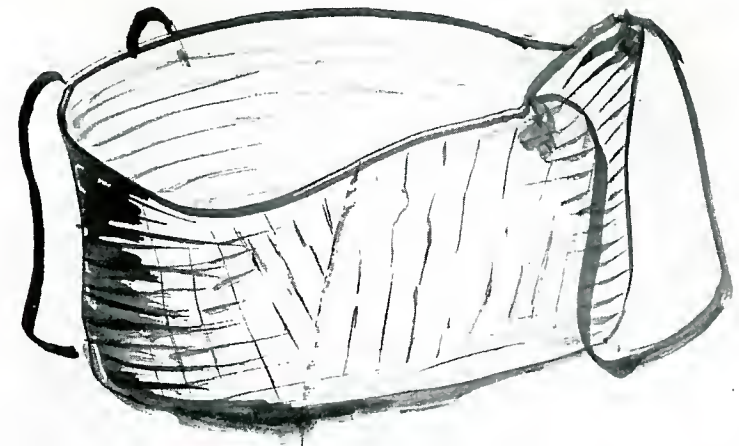


Fig. 3. Panier appelé zambèl

[Dessin H. Pur-Karim]

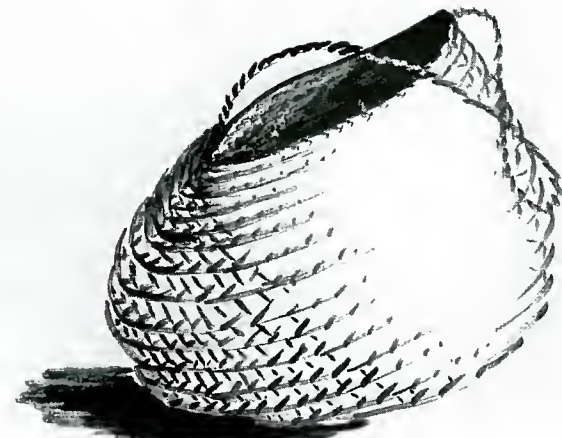


Fig. 4. Panier appelé do"lèndō

[Dessin H. Pur-Karim]

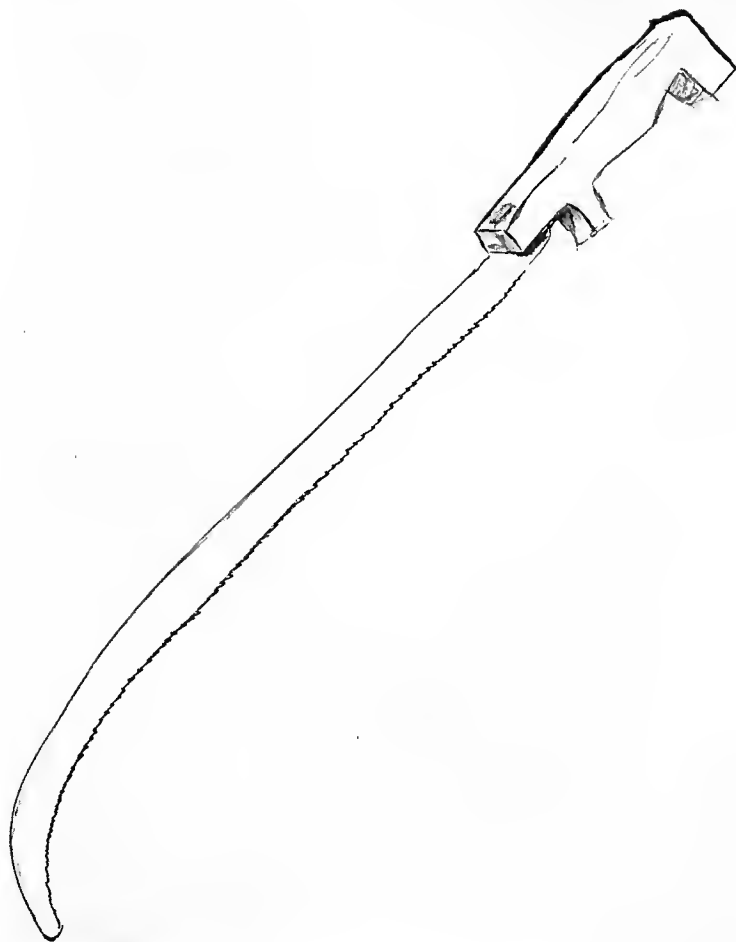


Fig. 5. Couteau scie *dās*

[Dessin H. Pur-Karim]



Fig. 6. Préparation des fibres

[Photo. G. R.]

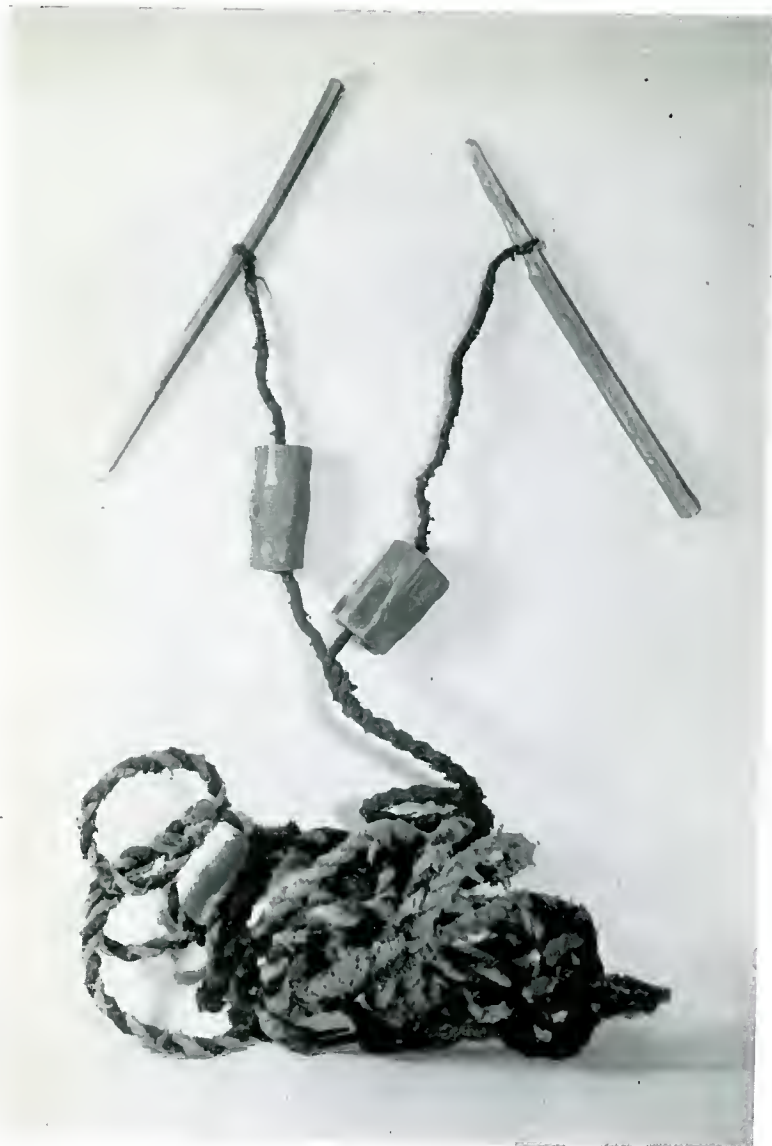


Fig. 7. Appareil pour le moulinage

[Photo. Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel]



Fig. 8. La décapitation

[Photo. G. R.]

TAQIZADEH VOL.

PLATE XV



Fig. 9. Le "fromage" de palmier

[Photo. G. R.]

En novembre a lieu la récolte des fruits *bār-é hòrma* ou *bārxās(t)*, plus récemment *hāsəl* (p. *hāşel*). Un homme monte dans le bouquet de l'arbre, coupe les régimes et les jette dans la toile *čəhāšó* que ses compagnons tiennent tendue au pied du palmier. On conserve les fruits sous diverses formes: tels quels, dénoyautés, coupés en deux et séchés *kolahu*, ou broyés en pâte. La réserve est placée dans une chambre spécialement aménagée sur le toit de la maison, *bilaxuna*.¹ La datté est un aliment très "chaud" et il est conseillé, pour la neutraliser, de la manger avec du citron, qui est "froid".²

Ressource essentielle de l'oasis, la datté n'est cependant que l'un des produits de l'arbre. Strabon déjà parle d'un "chant perse sur les 360 façons de tirer parti du palmier".³ Presque tout, en effet, en est exploité et fait l'objet d'une manufacture assumée principalement par les hommes.

La partie médiane du stipe (*bāskin*), fichée au faite des murs mitoyens, fait office de barbelé et s'appelle alors *paʃi*; elle sert aussi de battoir aux femmes qui lavent leur linge au lavoir *šovāgar*. La partie pennée est utilisée comme balai *járū*. La foliole, longue de 40 cm environ, plus ou moins finement découpée, est tressée soit en pièces larges, soit en étroits rubans *gòšk* (Pl. IX, fig. 2) qui sont ensuite assemblés, à l'aide d'une aiguille recourbée *sižēn*, par une mince bande de même matière. Sous la première forme, elle sert à confectionner l'éventail à feu *gāram*, une calotte finement travaillée *kolo*, et diverses sortes de sacs carrés ou rectangulaires où l'on conserve les dattes: *nóvar* de 8 cm sur 12 environ, *ʃollāt* plus grand, *sallā* qui contient

fameuses: Chardin signale que Jarron (Jahrom) était connue "pour ses dattes qui sont estimées les meilleures de tout le monde" (Voyages, nouv. éd., Amsterdam, 1735, II, p. 211); K. Lindberg dit l'excellence des dattes de Jam (Voyage dans le Sud de l'Iran, Lund, 1955, p. 118), etc.—A Garmāb, il n'y aurait, selon Habib Yağmā'i, art. cité, p. 45, que deux sortes de dattes: *kermāni* et *qasab*; Desmaisons, s.v. *xormā*, indique cette dernière espèce, à côté de *x. bī xasté* "d. sans noyau" et *x. kur* "d. sans goût". La variété *hārak* est également connue de Desmaisons (s.v. *xārak* et *xarak* "espèce de d. sèche; d. verte, non mûre; d. de l'île de Kh."), de Haïm (s.v. *xarak* "dried dates of a special variety"), et M. Sotudé mentionne *x. xarak* avec *x. berizu* dans son Farhang-e Kermāni, Téhéran, 1335/1957, p. 67. Notons encore que, selon Gabriel, ouv. cité, p. 216, il y a 4 sortes de d. à Khabīš: *šamsā'i*, *širegi*, *karut* et, la plus estimée, *bazmāni*.

¹ Cf. p. *xormādān*, et *bašk. kat* Gershevitch, art. cité, p. 219.

² R. Gelpke me signale un "coupage" analogue avec du lait aigre mentionné par Snouck Hurgronje, Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten, La Haye, 1886, p. 50s.

³ 16.1.14 (chant babylonien selon Plutarque, Symp. 8.4.5).

quelque 50 kg de fruits. Avec les bandes, on fabrique un chapeau rond à ailes plates d'environ 6 cm de large *kolo^u-é zambéli*, et une série de paniers de formes et d'usages variés: *zambél* à fond plat et double anse de coton *bônd-é zambél* (Pl. X, fig. 3); *doulêndô* sphérique, à ouverture étroite et longue anse de fibre (Pl. X, fig. 4); *āsāru*, *niži* puis, qui est petit, *čārgazi* panier à provisions; *gāval* fixé au bât de l'âne, de chaque côté; *galè* large, posé en travers du bât.¹

Les fibres *pīj* sont prélevées à l'aide d'un long couteau à lame *tīy* dentée *dās* (Pl. XI, fig. 5); les morceaux, d'environ 40 sur 75 cm, ainsi coupés et arrachés *tāvapīj*, sont débarrassés de la partie blanche et compacte, lisse *pīj-i ēspi* par laquelle elles adhèrent au tronc, puis immergés dans l'eau un jour ou deux. On peut alors délier les filaments *tāng* de cette bourre, qui sont roulés dans la main en mèches *gēlg* de 20-30 cm (Pl. XII, fig. 6); réunies, ces mèches sont transformées par moulinage en rubans plus longs *dārz*, éléments de la corde *rasô* qu'on obtient enfin par le même procédé, normal, de torsion.² L'opération a lieu en général dans les ruelles du bourg: les rubans sont attachés à un crochet fixé au mur et, à l'autre extrémité, à une cheville retenue par un court cylindre de bois creux que l'ouvrier tient dans une main, tout en faisant tourner la cheville de l'autre (Pl. XIII, fig. 7).³

Lorsqu'un arbre mâle est stérile, on le "condamne à mort". L'abatage, qui a généralement lieu un jour de fête,⁴ se fait en deux temps. Un homme, pieds nus et s'aidant d'une corde, grimpe d'abord

¹ Cf. A. Gabriel, *Im weltfernen Orient*, Munich-Berlin, 1929, p. 309: "Aus den Blättern der Palme werden in Khūr Körbe, Stricke, Fächer und Kappen geflochten"; faits analogues chez Gershevitch, art. cité, p. 215.

² Desmaisons et Steingass connaissent un *xormā-i abu jāhl* "espèce de palmier dont les fibres servent à faire des cordes"; de même Borhān-e Qāte', éd. Mo'in, II, Téhéran, 1331/1952, p. 738 (avec une intéressante note de l'éd. sur le palmier).

³ Sur ce travail de la fibre, cf. déjà Théophraste, h. pl. 2.6.11; Varron, r.r. 1.22.1; Columelle 5.5.15. On n'en fabrique pas à Khur de chaussures, comme c'est le cas dans le Sud (bal. *savas* Dezak; Gershevitch, art. cité, p. 221, mentionne des sandales de *pīš*) où les nattes de fibre servent aussi à recouvrir les huttes: ainsi à Dar ol-Mizan selon K. Lindberg, ouv. cité, p. 122, dans le Balučistān d'après S. Hedin, ouv. cité, II, p. 214; J. Dieulafoy note, d'autre part, que dans le Fars méridional, les cabanes sont "construites en stipes et en branches de palmier" (La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane, Paris, 1887, p. 509).

⁴ "Müsse man eine Palme umhauen, so verschiebe man es gern bis zu den Festtagen des Moharrem": S. Hedin, ouv. cité, II, p. 75. Grâce à la générosité du maire de Khur, nous avons pu assister deux fois à l'opération.

jusqu'au bouquet et, à l'aide du couteau *dās*, se met à ébrancher l'arbre (Pl. XIV, fig. 8); à mesure que les couches de fibre apparaissent, il les coupe et les ôte. La branche de pointe *dāllāk* (dimin.; B. Farahvashi a noté *dēl*), très longue et serrée comme un éventail fermé, tombe à son tour. Dégagé, le cœur de l'arbre décapité est un cône d'un blanc laiteux, qu'on sectionne à la base avec une longue scie *ārg* à manche *dastā* de corne *šāx*. C'est le "fromage" du palmier *panir-é mōg*, qui pèse de 3 à 7 kg suivant l'arbre et qu'on mange débité en cubes (Pl. XV, fig. 9): nourriture un peu fade, mais riche, très fine et fort appréciée.¹ Il ne reste plus alors qu'à scier le tronc lui-même, dont on tirera des poutres *tīr* et le bois des portes *dor* de la maison *sēra*.²

A connaître son rôle économique et la place qu'il tient dans la vie quotidienne, on s'explique mieux la vénération vouée au palmier. On lui attribue de l'intelligence, on le situe entre le règne végétal et le règne animal:³ "il est fait, dit Qazwīni, de la même matière qu'Adam".⁴ C'est le seul arbre qui soit fécondé artificiellement; l'odeur du pollen serait semblable à celle du sperme humain et l'on raconte à Khur qu'il est arrivé qu'une femme en soit enceinte; on ne l'abat pas, on le "tue", si loin est poussée l'analogie que Sven Hedin a rendue en des termes justes, dont je retrouve tous les éléments dans mes propres notes:⁵ "Die Perser sagen, dass die Palme ganz wie der Mensch sei; sie verkümmere und sterbe, wenn eine Kugel sie getroffen habe, sie ersticke, wenn Wasser sie überschwemme,⁶ und erfriere in der Kälte. Die männliche Palme hat, wie der Mohammedaner, mehrere Frauen; sie ist vornehm, zart und empfindlich; sie muss mit der grössten Sorgfalt gepflegt werden; sie gleicht einem Haustier, das dem Menschen die unschätzbarsten Dienste leistet. . . . Ein alter Perser sagte mir, dass die Palme sich von andern Bäumen dadurch unterscheide, dass sie Leben und Seele habe, denke, traure und sich freue".

¹ Cf. Gatin, *Les palmiers*, p. 75s. (chou-palmiste); Plin., h.n. 13.39 *dulcis medulla earum in cacumine quod cerebrum appellat*; Xénophon, *Anab.* 2.3.16 τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος.

² Même usage signalé par Gershevitch, art. cité, p. 217.

³ Cf. B. A. Donaldson, *The wild Rue*, Londres, 1938, p. 141.

⁴ Cité par Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen* . . . , p. 262.

⁵ Ouv. cité, II, p. 74-5.

⁶ On fait également périr l'arbre en versant sur le cœur de l'eau salée, de l'urine ou de la chaux (A. M. Ruhbakhshan).

THE PROPHECIES OF BÂBÂ THE ḤARRÂNIAN

By F. ROSENTHAL

In two passages of his *Chronology* (205 and 318 Sachau, trans. 187 and 315), al-Bîrûnî speaks of the prophets of the Ṣâbians of Ḥarrân, most of whom, he says, double as Greek philosophers. He mentions the Egyptian Hermes; Aghâdhîmûn (Agathodaimon); Pythagoras, who occurs in only one of the two passages; *Sw'r*, who is once described as Plato's maternal grandfather, which would make him Solon, but not even the assumption of a Pehlevi original would enable us to reconcile the forms Solon and *Sw'r*; *W'lys*, whose name, according to the famous Ms. 'Umûmî 4667 in Istanbul, appears in the second passage as *'lws*, which supports the suspicion that he is identical with *'lyws* (Elbus), Zoroaster's Ḥarrânian teacher according to a passage in the *Chronology* published by Ḥ. Taqizadeh;¹ and, finally, Bâbâ (so in both passages in the 'Umûmî manuscript).

The name of Bâbâ is a familiar one. For instance, it appears in Dura-Europos in a Semitic inscription as *Bb'* and in Greek as *Baba*, and it may, or may not, be related to quite a few Aramaic (Syriac and Jewish) name or names spelled *Bby*.² But the form of the name is so

¹ In *BSOS*, VIII (1935-7), 947-54. The name seems also to occur in Zoroaster's "autobiography" in the astrological work ascribed to him at the end of the Istanbul Ms. Nuru Osmaniye 2800. For Solon, cf. also ash-Shahrastâni, 250 Curcton.

² For references, cf. J. B. Segal, in *BSOAS*, XVI (1954), 22, whose paper, together with that in *Anatolian Studies*, III (1953), 97-119, is an important contribution to the old Ṣâbian problem. For Dura-Europos, cf. also R. N. Frye, J. F. Gilliam, H. Ingholt, and C. B. Welles, *Inscriptions from Dura-Europos*, nos. 97, 136, 155, 171 (New Haven, 1955, from *Yale Classical Studies*, XIV).

It may be noted that Baba appears in ancient times as the name of an Egyptian god as well as a Sumerian goddess, cf. J. Wilson, T. Mee, F. Stephens, and S. N. Kramer, in J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 2nd ed., 15a, 217a, 390b, 456a (Princeton, 1955). A Syrian goddess Babaia or the like is also known, cf. L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, and C. Mondésert, *Inscriptions grecs et latines de la Syrie*, IV, 119 (Paris, 1955, *Inst. français d'archéol. de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéol. et histor.*, LXI).

simple and lends itself to combination with so many similar forms in other languages that reserve is indicated, although it seems logical for the Prophet of Ḥarrân to have had a common Aramaic name. We are fortunate, however, in possessing two rather large fragments of the reputed writings of Bâbâ, one in Syriac, which has been known to scholars for many years, and another one in Arabic, found in the volume dealing with geography of the *Bughyat at-ṭalab fî ta'rîkh Ḥalab* by Ibn al-'Adîm (588-660/end of 1192 or beg. of 1193 to 1262), which has not yet been published.¹

Ibn al-'Adîm tells us that he was given a copy of a book ascribed to Bâbâ by Ibn Taymîyah Khaṭîb Ḥarrân, a member of a family which for several generations provided the main mosque of Ḥarrân with preachers. One of them, 'Abd-al-Ghanî b. Muḥammad (581-639/1185-1241),² a cousin of the famous Ibn Taymîyah's grandfather, was only a few years older than Ibn al-'Adîm, but since Ibn al-'Adîm, at the end of the quotation, refers to the year 652/1254-5 as one in which Ibn Taymîyah appears to have been still alive, he must have been 'Abd-al-Ghanî's son, 'Abd-al-Qâhir, who died, about sixty years old, in 671/1272-3.

Ibn al-'Adîm complains about the solecisms of Bâbâ's Arabic, and the language of the fragment is certainly strange and unidiomatic. This can be explained easily, but there is no denying that it causes difficulties for the reader, as can be seen in the translation that follows here:

"Ibn Taymîyah, the Preacher of Ḥarrân, sent me the Book of Bâbâ, the Ṣâbian from Ḥarrân. It comprises seven chapters (*maqâlât*) in which (the author) mentions what will be in times (to come). (Bâbâ) is said to have made his pronouncements 367 years before the Hijrah.

In the fourth chapter, he says: And concealed secrets were revealed to me. My soul became troubled and my heart was fearful

¹ Istanbul Ms. Aya Sofya 3036, fols. 235a-236a. In the winter of 1947-8, part of the fragment was copied by me from photographs in the Egyptian Library in Cairo, Ms. *ta'rîkh* 1566, Vol. III, pp. 538-41, and on the last working day of my stay in Istanbul in the summer of 1960, I copied the passage as exactly as I could from the original manuscript. The library authorities in both Cairo and Istanbul deserve my gratitude for the great helpfulness with which they gave me access to their manuscript treasures.

Dr Sâmî ad-Dahhân told me a few years ago that he was preparing an edition of the work of Ibn al-'Adîm. To the best of my knowledge, his edition has not yet appeared. I am sure, however, that the prospective editor's vast knowledge and the availability of the complete text will greatly improve upon my presentation.

² Cf. F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 390 (Leiden, 1952).

lest I spoke. I spoke because I was commanded to speak by¹ the Lord of Lords,² so that I would make known and explain what will be in times (to come). To wit:

The Abyssinians, who are the most excellent of the people of the south (*al-qiblah*),³ will be roused, and their king, whose name is good,⁴ will come forth with a mighty force of countless men together with their mounts, their trains (*sawâd*), their columns (?)⁵ like snakes, and their mounts like wild beasts running fast (?).⁶ They will come forth from the direction of the West. Their number will be like the number of sand and locusts⁷ (fol. 235b) money and expenses. In their hearts, there will be no pity for father or child. Their hosts and armies will gather like locusts that by flying cross desolate lands and reach inhabited areas. They will take possession of the land of the Nubians and the land of Egypt, and they will go up from there to Damascus and despoil and destroy it. He⁸ will come to the River Jordan and

¹ *Umirtu min* seems more a translation from the Aramaic than idiomatic Arabic.

² *Rabb al-arbâb* may conceivably correspond to what elsewhere in the literature dealing with the Šābians is called *rabb al-ālihah*, cf. Segal, in *Anatolian Studies*, III (1953), 115 f. Whether our text allows us to equate the Lord of Lords with the Blind Lord seems questionable.

³ Although there is nothing strange to the Arabic word *qiblah* being used in the meaning of south, it may be worth mentioning that the Šābians are supposed to have prayed toward the south, cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 206 and 331 Sachau.

⁴ This may be compared to the expression "big name" in the Syriac prophecy, referring to someone coming from the south to the support of Ḥarrân. The Arabic name Ḥasan is certainly not meant here. The assumption that the allusion here is to the Muslim conquest seems too obvious to be correct, but cf. p. 230, n. 4, below.

⁵ The text has *wa-'w'd-him*, which does not make sense. One might think of a correction to *aghwâr* "large numbers of men, soldiers" or *a'wân* "helpers, soldiers". However, assuming an Aramaic original, I would suggest that the original read *qaysayhôn* "their armies" which was misunderstood (in oral dictation?) as *qaysayhôn* "their wood (pl.)".

⁶ The text seems to read *t-f-j*, which might be *tufju*. If the text were written in literary Arabic, one might assume that after "snakes", *tafuḥlu* "hissing", in parallelism to *tufju*, was omitted and that the text has to be divided as follows: "with their mounts and their trains, their columns like snakes hissing, and their mounts like wild beasts running fast". However, as matters stand, this is highly improbable.

⁷ The last folios of the Aya Sofya manuscript are affected by water stains at the bottom, which makes them somewhat hard to read, and I was unable to make sense out of the last two lines here.

⁸ The change of person is unexplained. The Aramaic past tense where singular and plural of the third person masc. sound alike cannot be held responsible for it.

by-pass Palestine¹ and encamp at the Euphrates. The city of priests, called Mâbûgh—that is, Aleppo—,² will be safe. Then, he will come to you, Ḥarrân. You will also enjoy peace and safety. The people of heaven will dwell in your midst. The might of the people of Ḥarrân will be raised to the highest degree. They will fight and subdue the land and the sea with firm authority.³ One will drive off 120, and twenty, two thousand.⁴ All those who do not accept their conditions and do not listen to what they say will be killed.

In the sixth chapter, he made the following statement:⁵ When the kingdom of al-Ahwâz comes to an end, there will be much fighting, and much blood will be shed upon earth. There will be heavy fighting in the west for several days. In this connection (*wa-ma'a hâdhâ*): Woe unto you, splendid cities! Woe unto you, villages and small towns, on account of unclean groups (*shu'ab najisah*) that will defile the earth with their deeds, who do not know God⁶ and do not honor the people of heaven, who walked the path of evil desires and departed from the truth, so that the people of heaven became angry at them! Woe unto you, splendid Damascus, seat of a fine kingdom

¹ *Wa-ya'buru 'alâ Filastîn* could hardly be understood otherwise in the context, but the use of the preposition '*alâ*' in this meaning would seem more natural in Hebrew or Aramaic.

² The gloss equating Mâbûgh-Mabbug-Manbij with Aleppo cannot belong to the original text, and Ibn al-'Adīm himself should have known that Mâbûgh, the city of priests (*madīnat al-aḥbâr*), corresponds to Manbij. Elsewhere, he calls Hierapolis (Hierapolis, Manbij) *madīnat al-kahanah* (cf. *JAOS*, LXXI [1951], 137; *al-kuḥhân* in Agapius of Manbij, ed. L. Cheikho, in *CSCO, Script. ar.*, III, 5, 71). The gloss may be a not too subtle attempt by a commentator to vindicate the prophecy for Aleppo.

Aḥbâr translates Aramaic *kumrê*, and the choice of the word suggests a translation rather than an Arabic original, but we may be dealing here with a traditional translation. Mâbûgh is called *mdittâ d-kumrê* by Jacob of Sarug, cf. J. P. Martin, in *ZDMG*, XXIX (1875), 110.

³ *Bi-'aqd qawî*, which seems dubious Arabic.

⁴ The figures cannot be correct. The easiest correction would be 100, instead of 120, but this is uncertain, since 120 as a multiple of sixty is a more significant number than 100. Perhaps, it should be 2,400, or *alfayn* should be corrected to *âlâf* "thousands"?

The verb *trd* followed by the preposition *li-* which is used here is Aramaic rather than Arabic.

⁵ The text adds *faṣl*, indicating that the quotation begins at a new paragraph.

⁶ The use of *Allâh* here does not necessitate the existence of monotheistic beliefs in the original, in particular since an Aramaic original would not have distinguished in writing between the singular and the plural of the word.

(*madīnah ḥasanat al-mulk*)! How will your walls be destroyed, and your market streets razed to the ground! Woe (fol. 236b) unto you, Ba'labakk, city of the sun!¹ How will the powers of the talismans found in your midst be transferred to Mount *Bn'jwk* (?), the mountain east of Ḥarrân, and your incense, your perfume, and your sacrifices be changed, while you are going toward ruin, until the voices of destruction are heard in you. But to you, Mâbûgh—that is Aleppo—, city of priests, a man of authority will come and settle in your midst. He will raise your walls, delimit your market streets, and take possession of (?)² the spring that is located in your midst. After a short while, he will be taken from you. Then, woe unto you! How much fighting and wars you will experience! Woe unto you, Sumaysât!³

He further said (in another) paragraph: Truthfully I say that Edessa will be destroyed and the water which was taken from it⁴ will be returned to Ḥarrân. Sumaysât will be destroyed, and the water which belongs to *Kwzn*,⁵ they will take south (*ilâ l-qiblah*).

In this chapter, he further said: The stones of Edessa will be carried to Ḥarrân, and a wall and a *faṣīl*⁶ will be constructed from them for Ḥarrân. In the gate which is situated between east and south, a house of worship will be built, and that upon orders from the power (*qūwah*) of our Blind Lord.⁷ He is the one who commanded me to

¹ That is, Heliopolis.

² *Yahûzu*, as in the manuscript, may not be correct.

³ Apparently, the quotation breaks off abruptly.

⁴ That is, Ḥarrân. The geographers, as, for instance, Ibn Ḥawqal, I, 226 Kramers (154 De Goeje), state that Ḥarrân has little water, and this paragraph of Bâbâ's prophecies may have reference to this situation. On the water shortage in Ḥarrân, cf., further, A. Mez, *Geschichte der Stadt Ḥarrân in Mesopotamien bis zum Einfall der Araber*, 5ff. (Strassburg, 1892), and D. S. Rice, *Medieval Ḥarrân*, in *Anatolian Studies*, II (1952), 37 and 40.

⁵ This looks like the ancient Guzana, Gozan, the region near the upper reaches of the Khâbûr east of Ḥarrân. It could hardly be considered as located north of Ḥarrân or be connected with Sumaysât, but this may be due to a lack of knowledge concerning the exact location of a geographical term known only through literature.

⁶ That is, the interval between the inner and outer walls, but here, seemingly, one of the walls itself, cf. F. Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib as-Sarahṣī*, 74 (New Haven, 1943, *American Oriental Series*, XXVI).

⁷ The Blind Lord is known from the section on the Šābians in Ibn an-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, 448, and 453 (Cairo, 1348), where he is equated with *al-Mirrikh* (Ares, Mars). The Aramaic form, *mārâ samyâ*, translated *al-ilâh aq-ḍarir*, appears in Pseudo-Majrītī, *Ghāyah*, 226 Ritter, cf. also Dozy and De Goeje, in *Actes du Sixième Congrès Intern. des Orientalistes*, II, 2, 293, 335, 360 (Leiden, 1884–5). Cf. Segal, in *BSOAS*, XVI (1954), 21, and, in particular,

make these things known to you. I say that Mâbûgh—that is, Aleppo—will be awakened by (?)¹ the priests, and there will be peace and safety upon the entire carth.

We have mentioned this paragraph (*faṣl*) before and stated that a portion of the wall of Ḥarrân collapsed in the year 652. This required transporting stones from the wall of Edessa to Ḥarrân for the rebuilding of the damaged portion of the wall. The Preacher of Ḥarrân gave me this information, and I have reported the above (excerpts) from this book, with all their solecisms and faulty speech."

The text raises two questions which we would like to have answered. Firstly, is it, or is it not, a specimen of "Šābian" literature, and, secondly, at what time did it originate? That it originated in the geographical area of Ḥarrân can be taken for granted and need not be proved. We can also believe Ibn al-'Adīm when he says that he had a complete book from which he made his excerpts.

With regard to the original language of the work, the notes to the translation will have made it clear that my preference goes to the assumption of an original written in Aramaic, that is, Syriac or a dialect closely related to it. However, Aramaisms, Aramaic toponyms,

H. Ingholt, in *Berytus*, V (1938), 129, and *idem*, *Parthian Sculptures from Hatra*, 17ff. (New Haven, 1954, *Memoirs of the Conn. Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XII). Ingholt refers to the Blind Lord in connection with an enigmatic deity called Simios, Sameos, or the like, who was also worshiped in Hierapolis-Mâbûgh (*syny* in Syriac spelling). It would seem possible that the Šābian Aramaic *mr' smy'* originally referred to the Lord *Smy'* and was misinterpreted by Arabic translators, and perhaps already by the Aramaic Ḥarrânians themselves, as the Blind Lord. An equation with Ares-Mars would fit the nature of the god. The *Fihrist* 448, also speaks of a deity called *Rabb al-'umyân*, which, if read correctly as Lord of the Blind, may indicate an Aramaic spelling *mr*, instead of *mr'* (both, originally, construct states, referring to the Lord *Smy'*). *Mr smy'* was misread *mâr smayyâ* (pl.) and *mr' smy'*, *mârâ samyâ* (noun with the definite article). However this may be, it does not necessarily presuppose a translation of our fragment from the Aramaic, since the form "The Blind Lord" was probably widely known and used by Ḥarrânians also in speaking Arabic. [Recent literature on the problem includes H. Seyrig, in *Syria*, XXXVII (1960), 241–6, and A. van den Branden, in *al-Mashriq*, LIV (1960), 217–30.]

Al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 321, Sachau, mentions a *Ḍḥ'l* which is said to be an idol 'my (*sic* in the 'Umūmī manuscript), but whatever this may mean, it has probably no connection with the Blind Lord.

¹ The text reads: *tst'yr min al-aḥbâr*, which is difficult. *Tasta'idhu* "will seek refuge from the priests" would make sense only if the priests were considered an evil element, and there is nothing in the text to indicate that this was the case. *Tasta'idu al-aḥbâr* "will ask the priests to return" is hardly possible and also requires the deletion of *min*. The above translation is based upon the assumption—admittedly a very speculative one—that the Arabic represents Aramaic *tett'ir*. Perhaps, *tett'ir* was misread *tett'id*, and this was mechanically translated into a meaningless *tasta'idu*.

unidiomatic expressions, and a non-Muslim imagery and phraseology are the things to be expected from a Ḥarrānian writer intent upon producing, in Arabic, a supposedly pre-Islamic work. Mistranslations, such as those suggested in p. 222, n. 5, and p. 225, n. 1, could decide the question, but their existence can, for the present, not be considered as fully established. However, the assumption of an Aramaic original seems acceptable. It definitely rules out Muslim authorship and leaves us with the certainty of either Ṣābian/gnostic/pagan or Christian/sectarian Christian authorship. An Aramaic original also makes pre-Islamic origin at least a possibility, whereas an Arabic original could have hardly originated before the ninth century.

The determination of the dates of apocalyptic writings and the circumstances responsible for their production has always been a favorite occupation of scholars, both ancient and modern, and the difficulties involved are usually such that agreement is rarely achieved even after hundreds and thousands of years of discussion. Bābā's prophecies also leave much room for speculation, and it would not be surprising if some scholar were to maintain that the work came out of the turmoil created in the area by the Crusades which provided an ideal climate for the flourishing of apocalyptic writing.

The statement that Bābā wrote 367 years before the Hijrah is, of course, editorial in origin, and we cannot say whether or not it was derived from some allusion found in the text itself; it may, however, be noted that it conflicts openly with the Syriac fragment which assumes a pre-Christian date for Bābā. The Arabic text seems to have as its main purpose the prediction of a glorious future for Ḥarrān and Hierapolis-Mābūgh—Ḥarrān's "sister", as Jacob of Sarug called the city¹—, while everything around is said to be destined for complete destruction. This sort of local patriotism can hardly be dated with any accuracy, but it points to a situation where the feeling of a special relationship between the two cities was alive and strong, and since this presupposes the existence of vigorous non-Muslim communities, it is not likely to have outlasted the early centuries of Islam.

In the geographical cadre, the occurrence of the Arabic form al-Ahwāz seems a bit unusual, but it could easily be an Arabization of Hūzayyē or the like; reference to it could be pre-Islamic, or early (Umayyad) Islamic if "the kingdom of al-Ahwāz" was meant to hint

¹ *Loc. cit.* (above, p. 223, n. 2).

at the 'Irāq as a very important (but not the most important) part of the Muslim Empire. The reference to Damascus as the seat of a fine kingdom suggests Umayyad times. The choice of the Abyssinians (coming from the south and, immediately thereafter, from the west) as the agents of destiny could be pre-Islamic, but it is something that savors strongly of Muslim eschatology. In sum, an Umayyad date seems possible, and as far as I can see, has no positive argument against it.

Were it not for the existence of the Syriac fragment which purports to be a prediction of the coming of Christ,¹ one might at this point be satisfied with the Ṣābian/pagan character of the Arabic passages and hardly consider the Christian alternative. But, as it is, we must have a look at the Syriac text. This text was first published, together with a Latin translation, by Ignatius Ephraem III Rahmani in his *Studia Syriaca*, 48–50, trans. 47–49 (Charfé, 1904). A manuscript preserved in the Mingana Collection in Birmingham, no. 4 V, fols. 79b–81b,² has the identical text. As Rahmani pointed out, some quotations of the Bābā text are found in Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī's work *Against the Muslims*. They are very brief and restricted to the most suitable sentences (see p. 229, n. 7, and p. 230, n. 1, below); there can be no doubt that they do not go back to a complete text of Bābā's work but are derived from the same collection in which we find them today. Bar Ṣalībī wrote his work *Against the Muslims* before his work *Against the Jews*, which was written in 1477 Sel./1165–6. Thus, we know for

¹ The vast literature of pagan predictions concerning the coming of Christ does not seem to have preserved further references to Bābā. G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, I, 486 (Città del Vaticano, 1944–53), refers to a Bābās, whose name, he suggests, should be corrected to Bās. Gerasimus of Dayr Sim'ān al-'Ajā'ibī (Graf, II, 83) has an unclear reference to Ṣābian testimonies to the coming of Christ, but Bābā is certainly not mentioned. I consulted the Bodleian Ms. Marsh 69 (Uri, Christian Ar. mss. 49), which has no pagination. I wish to thank the authorities of the Bodleian Library for their hospitality extended to me, as often before, during a short visit to Oxford in 1958.

² Cf. A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, I: Syriac and Garshūnī Manuscripts*, col. 12 (Cambridge, 1933). The manuscript was written in 1895 (with additions down to 1898) and copied from an ancient original, apparently the same of which another copy was the basis for the edition.

For Bar Ṣalībī, I used Ms. 89 G of the Mingana Collection, which contains the quotation from Bābā on fol. 67b. I wish to thank the authorities of the Selly Oak Colleges Library for graciously responding to my request for microfilms of their manuscripts.

certain that his source for the Bâbâ quotations must have been written before that date, but how long before remains an open question, except that being addressed to unbelievers it is likely to antedate the twelfth century by, at least, a few centuries.

It seems that little attention has been paid to Bâbâ's prophecies since their publication,¹ and the edition is not easily available. Therefore, a modest attempt to translate the text into English has been appended here:

"The Prophecy of Bâbâ, the God² of Ḥarrân.

Listen to the statements of Bâbâ who also lived in Ḥarrân, whose book is being read attentively by the pagans, who is called by them a prophet, whom they esteem more than all the philosophers, and in whom they take refuge. With the divine power's approval of his prophecy, he announced and spoke openly about the Messiah, as did Balaam, the soothsayer. He made the following statement in his first book, which is called 'Revelation' (*Gelyânâ*).

I did not want to say these things, but I was required against my will to write about these things that are going to be, while there will be tears and lamentation when they are going to happen. For the light that is prior to the world came to earth and appeared in the body of the earth³ without mankind knowing it. Thereafter, it returned again and went up to its place on high by the side of that glory that is concealed from everybody. And while it is there in its place, so-called (?)⁴ inhabitants of Ḥarrân will come, and the inhabitants of the city of Sîn will say that it is Bâbâ's insanity,⁵ <not> wisdom coming from the sons of heaven. Shaking 'Azzûz in which all

¹ But cf. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 11 (Bonn, 1922), and J. Tkatsch, *Die arabische Übersetzung der Poetik des Aristoteles*, I, 41b (Vienna, 1928-32).

² The reference to Bâbâ as a god, which caused me to collect occurrences of "Baba" as a divine proper name (above, p. 220, n. 2), is singular and unexplained. It may be due to the animus of the Christian author. Bâbâ is spelled here *Bb'* and, much more frequently, *B'b'*.

³ I.e., in an earthly body?

⁴ This is the meaning of *dââmên* "who are similar", implying that they were not true, loyal Ḥarrânians. Perhaps, one should, however, read *drâmîn* "haughty". In the following, it would simplify matters to read: "they will say <to> their fellow citizens, the inhabitants of the city of Sîn"; however, this correction is not absolutely necessary. In any case, it seems that the passage expresses disapproval of a section of the Ḥarrânian population which tries to destroy the pagan community and, in particular, 'Azzûz ('*zww*), presumably, the name of the main pagan sanctuary in Ḥarrân.

⁵ Apparently, the enthusiasm of the prophet, which is disapproved of by hostile Ḥarrânians.

exaltation (?) is,¹ they will expel those who dwell in it, and it² will become a house of martyrs, and all the rest a place of shame.

From the same book: For the gnosis of light that is immortal, imperishable sacrifices, and incorruptible splendor (will) appear on earth, having its dwelling in heaven and controlling heaven and earth. Life is in it for all who take refuge in it. The inhabitants of Ḥarrân³ were liars. <It is> all that was and is, and it is prior to everything. Wisdom takes up residence and dwells in it. Beside this splendor, nothing has subsistence.

Earth, earth! Do not drink error, but know the light that has appeared and subsists and does not perish, ascending⁴ on high and serving on earth for years! Shortly, evil will come because of their sin, and their foot will not be steady until they see the light that has appeared and worship it rightly.

From the same book: And they will say the sweet word: 'Come, let us fall upon the ground and worship God, the Creator of the earth!'⁵ And there shall be a great and holy temple on earth, and the entire people will bring a sacrifice⁶ to God in perfect love.

From the second book: They will behold the ray that sprang from where they did not expect it. It will be visible from their place. It will appear with all its appropriate fittings in great, incomprehensible splendor, and all those who dwell on earth will notice the glory of the brilliance that was concealed and became revealed.

I saw in the mind as if I was spoken to as follows: The progeny of splendor and light was born from the earth for gain and loss, for subsistence and fall.⁷

Woe, woe! For after a while, no stone of the house of the gods in your midst that is glorious and exalted like the Capitol in Rome, will be left upon the other. Do not tremble, for if you know the splendor

¹ Rahmani indicated that he did not understand the text, and left the relative clause untranslated. A word *rs'*, meaning *una persona, quivis*, quoted from Bar Bahlul in the *Thesaurus Syriacus*, would yield the meaning "in which there is everybody", but its existence is doubtful. The correction to *rawmâ* "exaltation, glory" is, of course, also doubtful.

² The Syriac has the pl. fem.

³ Those mentioned before who were attacking paganism, rather than the pagans meant by the Christian author?

⁴ Read *tessaq*?

⁵ Cf. Ps. 95:6.

⁶ Or "sacrifices".

⁷ This paragraph is quoted by Bar Ṣalibi.

of the ray, many things that (seem) important will be like nought. The ray of the Lord will openly descend upon the earth, and they will be without signs until the ascent of the radiance.¹ The inhabitants of Persia will come bringing gifts for the ray. Glorious is the divine guidance, and marvelous the miracle that will appear upon earth. It is above words and understanding; it is incomprehensible and unaccountable. Thereafter, the world will dwell in peace for a while. The kingdom of the east will be aroused. It will go up and destroy the city of Judah. 'Āḥôr (Eber) will descend into captivity, and Bâḥîl will serve in servitude, because of the miraculous progeny, concerning <whom> I (she ?) said . . . (?).² Thereafter, the kings of the west will be roused, and they will come up to our place. They will slaughter sacrifices and bring offerings in the midst of 'Azzûz. They will seek to abolish the religion, while unable to say³ so because others after them will believe and rule.

Bâḥâ then said that after a long time, a big name from the south will come and sit down in the midst of 'Azzûz. He will honor its⁴ initiates, but over all those who do not heed his words, the sword will rule.

Bâḥâ then spoke about the apostles: His apostles, that is, his runners, are contemptible.⁵

He indicated openly that the Apostles of the Messiah are contemptible and simple people (*hedyôṭē*). He sent them out, and they ran over the whole world. With the help of the divine power that was clinging to them, they were able to catch all mankind (and bring them) to Life, doing great and miraculous deeds.

¹ Instead of the *lampôn* of the text, which is not found in the Syriac dictionaries, Rahmani reads *lamprôn*.

This, and the following two sentences are quoted by Bar Ṣalībī, who, however, omits the second half of this sentence, which presents difficulties to the understanding.

² Rahmani translates: quoniam disseruit (*scil.* Bâḥîl) de progenito ex miraculo in sua generatione.

³ The text (*danmallân*) may have to be corrected to *danṣaḥllân* or *danṣamlôn*.

⁴ Or "his". In this case, the "big name from the south" could be Islam.

⁵ *Ṣîṭîn*, which we are supposed to understand as referring to simple, low-class people. We do not know what the suffix "his" refers to (the word Messiah does not occur in the Bâḥâ fragments), but if the Christian Apostles are meant, it would seem that in Bâḥâ's original work, Jesus and the Apostles were evil elements, as elsewhere in some forms of gnosticism. Thus, for the Mandaeans, the Apostles are "seducers" (*m'sty'ny*) in a world into which Jesus had brought "foolishness" (*ṣtyty*) and in which there existed "contemptible" (*ṣtyty*) Jewish sects, cf. M. Lidzbarski, *Ginzâ*, 51₂₇, 135₆₁, 135_{22f}. (Göttingen-Leipzig, 1925).

The soothsayer spoke again further about the progeny of splendor on earth, as follows: <Above> all and dwelling¹ in everything—that miracle that was done".²

The Syriac and the Arabic texts have identical remarks concerning the reluctance of the seer, and there is some similarity in the statements concerning the big name from the south and his powerful rule in the one text, and the Abyssinian ruler and the power gained by the good Ḥarrânians in the other. The "sons of heaven" who play an important role in the Syriac text certainly are identical with the "people of heaven" in the Arabic. All these agreements may, however, be credited to the literary type to which both texts belong.

The assumption that the Syriac text is an outright Christian forgery finds support in the fact that the Bâḥâ passages appear in the context of clearly supposititious statements attributed to various famous figures. The difference is that Bâḥâ was not famous or internationally known but of strictly local interest which at best extended to, say, Edessa and Antioch. There are the Christian concepts of the ray springing from the glory in heaven and other ideas best explained as Christian in origin. However, if one reads the Syriac text carefully, one cannot help being struck by the tenuousness of the Christian allusions and the fact that practically all of them could have been easily superimposed upon a text that might have spoken about a gnostically transformed Christ in a kind of Biblical phraseology or, rather, about the gnostic light in general. Concepts such as the light coming down to earth, the gnosis of light, the incorruptible splendor (*nuhrâ*), or the progeny of light and splendor, can be read as gnostic.³ With regard to the pagan cult in Ḥarrân, the text lacks clarity and seems to contain contradictory statements, but expressions of hope for its preservation and renewed glory in the fact of violent

¹ Rather than "concealed".

² Obviously, two unconnected characterizations of the progeny of splendor.

The text goes on presenting the conclusions the author feels should be drawn from Bâḥâ's prophecies. His words suggest that paganism in Ḥarrân was a personal problem for him in his time.

³ It should be kept in mind, however, that recent research has shown how difficult it often is to keep apart Eastern Christian and related gnostic phraseology.

A judicious recent survey of the symbolism of light in gnosticism may be found in K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, I, 120ff. (Göttingen, 1960).

attacks upon it by hostile elements (which may have been Christians or Muslims) seem to be prevalent. The remark about the Apostles must have been originally intended as a slur upon them, branding them as evil characters. Above all, if there really existed a book ascribed to Bâbâ, of which our text has preserved only excerpts, the comparative irrelevance of the excerpts chosen leaves little room for doubt that that book cannot have had much to do with Christianity (which, if it were a Christian falsification, would be its only reason for existence). There is a good possibility that the Syriac text has, in fact, preserved remnants of Ḥarrânian gnostic literature that were only slightly adapted to the purpose which the Christian author had in mind when using them.

For the Arabic text, considerably less doubt seems indicated. The author obviously hopes for the persistence and flourishing of paganism. It would be far-fetched to assume that a Christian or a member of an heretical Christian sect that had remained at least basically Christian would have gone that far in his mystification in order to provide local color and the appearance of authenticity. We cannot be fully certain, but in all likelihood, the Arabic text is a rare survival of Ḥarrânian "Ṣâbian" literature, translated from an Aramaic original presumably dating from the Umayyad period.

DER DEUTSCHE BEITRAG ZUR IRANFORSCHUNG

Von B. SPULER

Unter den drei grossen Kulturbereichen, in die sich das islamische Vorderasien aufgliedert, sind zwei in unmittelbare Berührung mit Europa gekommen. Die gewaltige Ausdehnung der arabischen Macht im Gefolge von des Propheten Mohammed Auftreten hatte vor allem die romanischen Völker in den südlichen Teilen Europas getroffen. Auch die Kreuzzüge als der markanteste, machtpolitisch letztlich gescheiterte Gegenstoss des Abendlandes waren im Wesentlichen von romanischen Völkern—den Franzosen und (in der Sicht der Muslime) den Spaniern—getragen worden.

Die zweite Bildung eines grossen, übernationalen Reiches auf islamischer Basis hatte die osmanischen Türken über Istanbul hinaus bis vor die Tore Wiens geführt und über die unterworfenen Völker Südosteuropas hinweg die Deutschen zu Nachbarn und lange Zeit zu politisch—militärischen Gegnern der Türken gemacht. Neben allem andern brachte die Berührung mit den Arabern und mit den Türken die Völker des Abendlandes dazu, sich mit ihnen und der von ihnen bekannten Religion, dem Islam, zu beschäftigen. Die geistige Auseinandersetzung mit dieser den Christen damals so fremden Welt hat Europa wesentlich bei der Bestimmung seines eigenen Standortes geholfen. Freilich waren die Urteile über Araber und Türken unter dem Nachhall der Waffen lange Zeit getrübt. Aber selbst beim Toben des Krieges haben die Deutschen ihren türkischen Gegnern die Achtung nicht versagt und so das Fundament zu einer späteren Verständigung gelegt, die in den letzten Jahrzehnten mehr und mehr zu gegenseitiger Sympathie geführt hat.

Ganz anders als die von der Leidenschaft des Tages nicht immer freien Beziehungen zu Arabern und Türken war das Verhältnis der Europäer, gerade auch der Deutschen, zu der dritten grossen Kulturnation Vorderasiens, zu den Iranern. Die Iraner waren die einzigen, die in islamischer Zeit nie den Mittelpunkt eines grossen,

übernationalen Reiches gebildet hatten. Auch zu Zeiten, als Iran grössere Gebiete mit arabischer oder türkisch—kaukasischer Bevölkerung umschloss, wie das Zweistromland (Mesopotamien) oder eben Teile Kaukasiens, überwog das persische Element stets an Zahl. Unter diesen Umständen konnte das iranische Wesen in Dichtung und Kunst sich selbst treu bleiben, konnte es nie von andern Elementen überwältigt werden. So blieben die Perser angesichts dieser politischen Selbstbescheidung die einzige der drei grossen vorderasiatisch—islamischen Nationen, die für die Europäer, also auch für Deutschland, nicht das Interesse einer (lange unfreundlichen) Nachbarschaft besaßen und mit der es nie zu einem militärischen Zusammenstosse kam. Das Bild der Iraner war also nicht durch Entstellungen getrübt, wie sie die Wirren der Tagespolitik manchmal mit sich bringen. Als die muslimischen Perser kurz nach den Türken ins Blickfeld der Deutschen traten, war es also nicht in erster Linie das staatliche Leben und noch weniger die militärische Bedeutung des Landes, auch nicht eine fremde Religion, die das Interesse des Westens auf sich zogen. Vielmehr erschloss sich den Ausländern, erschloss sich den Deutschen alsbald der ganze Zauber der persischen Kultur in Literatur und Kunst, jenes eigentliche Zentrum persischen Wesens, dem Iran mehr als seinen Waffen seine Stellung innerhalb der islamischen Welt verdankte. Haben die Araber und die Türken ihre Reiche mit dem Schwerte in der Hand erobert, so ist Iran (bei aller militärischen Stärke, die es häufig besass) eigentlich die "Grossmacht der Kultur" unter den islamischen Ländern. Mit den friedlichen Waffen des Geistes hat dieses Land den Arabern sein uraltes Kulturerbe weitergegeben, hat es dem abbasidischen Chalifat seinen Stempel aufgeprägt. Kaum hatten die türkischen Seldschuken im 11. Jahrhundert Iran erobert, so wurden sie Gefangene iranischen Wesens und später seine machtvollsten Förderer. Mochte der Kampf zwischen Persern und Türken im 16. Jahrhundert noch so hartnäckig toben: der türkische Sultan Selim I. (1512–20) schrieb seine Gedichte auf persisch, und die Geschichtswerke der Türken berichten in eben diesem Jahrhundert von türkischen Siegen über die Perser—in iranischer Sprache. Aber nicht nur die Türken blieben bis an die Schwelle der Neuzeit gelehrte Schüler der iranisch-islamischen Kultur. Auch Irans andere Nachbarn, die mittelasiatischen Türken (besonders die Ösbegen) im Norden sowie die Muslime Indiens im Südosten, hatten sich voll und

ganz der persischen Kultur eingegliedert. Kunst und Dichtung, Geschichtsschreibung und Prosaerzählung waren Ableger persischer Vorbilder, waren weithin in persischer und nicht in ösbegischer Sprache oder in Urdu abgefasst.

Was wunder, dass auch Europa sich alsbald voller Ehrfurcht vor dieser geistigen Grösse Irans verneigte, dass schon der erste deutsche Irankenner, Adam Olearius (um 1600 bis 1671) im 17. Jahrhundert, nicht nur (in seiner "Oft begehrten Beschreibung der Newen Orientalischen Reise . . .", 3. Auflage, Schleswig 1663) das persische Leben seiner Zeit beschrieb, sondern sich bemüssigt fühlte, im "Persianischen Rosenthal" eine Übersetzung von Sa'dis "Gulistān" vorzulegen und damit den ersten Schritt zur Hinführung seiner Landsleute zur persischen Literatur zu tun. Aber selbst, wenn man Olearius noch nicht eigentlich einen Iranforscher nennen mag: Engelbert Kämpfers (1651–1716) lateinisch geschriebener Darstellung der Persischen Reiche um 1684 in seinen "Amoenitates Exoticae" (Lemgo 1712) wird man den Namen einer wissenschaftlichen Untersuchung nicht vorenthalten dürfen. Seine Schilderung liegt seit 20 Jahren auch in einer deutschen Übersetzung vor ("Am Hofe des persischen Grosskönigs", hrsg. von Walther Hinz, Leipzig 1940); das Werk gehört zu den wichtigsten Quellen über den Staat der Safawiden. Auch wenn manche späteren Darstellungen der persischen Verhältnisse aus der Feder deutscher Reisender, von denen sich manche Jahrzehnte im Lande aufhielten, nicht die wissenschaftliche Bedeutung von Kämpfers Werk erreichen, so sind doch auch diese Schilderungen als wertvoller, als wissenschaftlich unentbehrlicher Beitrag zur Kenntnis dieses Landes zu werten. Sie aufzuzählen, kann hier nicht unsere Aufgabe sein.

Aber es war nicht nur das iranische Reich in seiner damaligen Gestalt, das den Westen, das die Deutschen interessierte. Das einzige übernationale iranische Grossreich, wie ein solches nur in vor-islamischer Zeit bestand, also der Staat der Achämeniden, begann sich gegenüber den—naturgemäss einseitigen—Schilderungen der alten Griechen mehr und mehr zu entschleiern, als der Deutsche Georg Friedrich Grotefend (1775–1853) im Jahre 1802 zu Göttingen den Grund zur Entzifferung der persischen Keilschrift gelegt hatte. Durch die nun einsetzende Arbeit von Gelehrten vieler Nationen, unter denen Deutsche wie Franz Heinrich Weissbach (1865–1944) einen ehrenvollen Platz einnehmen, erschloss sich uns,

erschloss sich auch den persischen Nachfahren die Stimme des grossen Dareios, die, in Stein gehauen, die Jahrhunderte überdauert hatte und die vom Wollen und Wirken dieses iranischen Grosskönigs berichtet.

Die Forschung blieb freilich nicht bei den Achämeniden stehen. Die Bekanntschaft mit den Parsen in Indien, diesen treuen Bewahrern einer vor dem Islam fast völlig versunkenen Zeitspanne persischer Kultur, bot den Schlüssel dafür, um auch diese spätere Epoche anhand von Inschriften, Urkunden und Büchern neu erstehen zu lassen. Vom Islam überdecktes, von den Persern selbst vergessenes Erbe trat wieder zu Tage. Eine Vielzahl iranischer Sprachen, iranischer Religionen erstand vor unsern geistigen Augen. Unsere Kenntnis von der Epoche der Arsakiden und Sassaniden steht heute auf festem Grunde. Schon vor Jahrzehnten stellte Johann Heinrich Hübschmann (1848–1908) die etymologischen Grundlinien des Iranischen fest und erwies das Armenische als einen selbständigen (nicht zum Iranischen gehörigen) Zweig des Indogermanischen. Zur gleichen Zeit zogen Ferdinand Justi (1837–1907) in seinem "Iranischen Namenbuch" (Marburg 1895) und Christian Bartholomae (1855–1925) im "Alt-iranischen Wörterbuch" (Strassburg 1904) eine Summe unseres Wissens von früheren Sprachstufen des Iranischen, Werke, die in ihrer Gründlichkeit noch heute Fundamente der Iranistik sind. Martin Haug (1827–76) machte als erster Deutscher die Parsen selbst zum Gegenstand seiner Studien, jene Religionsgemeinschaft, die er in Indien 1859/66 so gründlich kennen gelernt hatte.

Der ordnende und sammelnde Geist der Deutschen liess es sich zu gleicher Zeit nicht nehmen, unter Mitarbeit auch vieler ausländischer Gelehrter den ersten, auf seine Weise grossartigen Versuch eines Überblicks über alle Lebensäusserungen iranischen Wesens zu geben in dem "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie" (2 Bände, Strassburg 1896/1904), der unter der Leitung von Wilhelm Geiger (1856–1943) und Ernst Kuhn (1846–1920) stand und eines jener schönen Beispiele dafür ist, wie auf einem solch weiten Gebiete wie der Iranistik internationale Zusammenarbeit zu besonders fruchtbaren Ergebnissen führt. Der "Grundriss" war freilich für einen Teil seiner Abschnitte im Augenblicke seines Erscheinens überholt, da eben damals die Turfan-Funde bisher ungeahnte Quellen für die iranischen Sprachen und Kulturen erschlossen, die unserer Erkenntnis

und unserer Forschung alsbald neue Bahnen wiesen. F.W.K. Müller (1863–1930) gehört zu den Deutschen, die sich auch um die iranistische Seite dieser Funde wesentliche Verdienste erworben haben.—Unabhängig davon wurden Friedrich von Spiegels (1820–1905) und Justis Sprachstudien und Textausgaben von Karl Friedrich Geldner (1852–1929) in seiner mustergültigen Avesta-Ausgabe (3 Bände, 1885/95) weitergeführt, auf der Hans Reichelt (1887–1939) seine vielfältigen Studien über dieses Werk aufbaute.

Inzwischen erschloss Friedrich Carl Andreas (1846–1930) in Göttingen Dokumente und Sprachprobleme des Mittel-Iranischen in einer Weise, die—bei allen Erörterungen im Einzelnen—die Grundlage für vielfältige weitere Untersuchungen, auch auf dem Gebiete der modernen Dialekte, legte. Anhand solcher Unterlagen berichteten ausser Spiegel (Iranische Altertumskunde, 3 Bände, Leipzig 1871/78) und Justi (Geschichte der alten Perser, Berlin 1879; Geschichte der orientalischen Völker im Altertum, Berlin 1889) der Althistoriker Eduard Meyer (1855–1930) sowie Isidor Scheftelowitz (1875–1934) und Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896–1957) über Kulturzusammenhänge und religionsgeschichtliche Fragen, die man vorher nicht hatte übersehen können.

Überhaupt erschloss sich uns Iran auch unter dem Blickwinkel des Glaubens in neuer Weise, nicht zuletzt in Hinsicht auf die Religion, der heute die Perser so gut wie geschlossen zugehören, also den Islam. Hier hatte Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) vor nunmehr 80 Jahren als erster gelehrt, wie früh-islamische Nachrichten in arabischem Gewande (wenn auch aus persischer Feder) für die Zeit vor Mohammed zu interpretieren seien ("Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden; aus dem Arabischen des Tabari übersetzt", Leiden 1879). Daneben hat Nöldeke, auf dem Lebenswerke von Johann August Vullers (starb 1882?) und des in Paris zu Ehren gekommenen Deutschen Julius Mohl (1800–76) mit ihren Textausgaben ausgehend, unter Heranziehung auch nicht-deutscher Arbeiten, das Nationalepos der Perser, Firdausis Schāhnāma, in seiner Entstehung und seinem Aufbau neu erschlossen. Dass der Deutsche, der nach ihm sein Lebenswerk dem Schāhnāma widmete, dass Fritz Wolff (1880–1943), der Verfasser des Glossars zu dieser Dichtung (Berlin 1936), unter der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft ein schauerliches Ende fand, darf freilich hier nicht verschwiegen werden.

Während die Geschichte Irans in islamischer Zeit (auch durch deutsche Arbeiten) erst in Ansätzen erschlossen ist, hatte die Beschäftigung mit der neupersischen Literatur (seit 1000 n. Ch.) durch Johann Wolfgang von Goethe ihre Wegweisung bekommen. Auf jeden Fall war es der Perser Ḥāfiẓ—also weder ein Araber noch ein Türke—der dem Dichterfürsten Rang und Reiz der morgenländischen Dichtung verdeutlichte, in einer Form, die ihn im "West-östlichen Diwan" (um 1815) zu einer produktiven Auseinandersetzung mit diesem grössten Lyriker Irans zwang (zu diesem Thema liegt jetzt wieder eine deutsche Studie vor). Indem Goethe: Ḥāfiẓ weltliterarischen Rang zuwies, machte er zugleich die Interpretation der persischen Literatur für das Abendland zu einem Gegenstande weltliterarischer Bedeutung: auch für die Deutschen, denen Josef, Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall (1774 bis 1856) die erste Übersicht über den dichterischen Schatz dieser Nation geboten hatte ("Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens", Wien 1818). Mit Hammers Ḥāfiẓ-Übertragung ("Diwan des Hafiz", Tübingen 1812), die Goethe vorgelegen hatte, beginnt für das 19. und 20. Jahrhundert jene nicht mehr abreissende Kette von Übertragungen persischer Dichtungen ins Deutsche, die uns mit der persischen Literatur vertraut gemacht hat wie mit keiner andern des islamischen Bereiches. Der von Goethe gewiesenen Aufgabe ist auch die deutsche Forschung seither nicht untreu geworden. Was neben vielen anderen Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866) und Adolf Friedrich, Graf von Schack (1815–94), was Paul Horn (1863–1908) und Friedrich Rosen (1856–1935), was schliesslich (um unter den Lebenden nur diesen hervorragenden Gelehrten zu nennen) Hellmut Ritter für die Erschliessung und Durchdringung der persischen Literatur getan haben, wird immer unvergessen bleiben und besitzt auch für die Perser selbst Bedeutung.

Neben der Erforschung der zwölfer-schiitischen Konfession des Islams als der für Persien massgebenden, die von Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960) um wertvollste Erkenntnisse bereichert worden ist ("Die Zwölfer-Schī'a", Leipzig 1926; "Schī'a-Literatur", Leipzig 1926), war es dann der Bereich der iranischen Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte, der durch Deutsche nachhaltig gefördert und in seiner bezaubernden Mannigfaltigkeit erschlossen worden ist. Hier rufen die Namen von Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945) und Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948; freilich aus Deutschland vertrieben) so

vielfältige Erinnerungen wach, dass auf die Anführung einzelner Werke an dieser Stelle verzichtet werden darf. Aber wenn auch von Lebenden sonst nicht die Rede sein soll, so darf doch der Senior dieser Forschungsrichtung, darf Ernst Kühnel nicht unerwähnt bleiben, dem wir immer neue massgebende Arbeiten auf dem Gebiete auch der iranischen Kunst verdanken.

Aber nicht nur Sprache und Literatur, nicht nur Religion, Geschichte und Kunst sind es, mit denen die deutsche Iranforschung sich beschäftigt. Es ist nicht nur das Vergangene, wie lebendig auch immer es sein mag, nicht nur das klassische Iran, das die deutsche Wissenschaft fesselt. Mehr und mehr hat sich den Deutschen, insbesondere seit der Thronbesteigung der jetzigen Dynastie, die Möglichkeit geboten, sich mit der iranischen Gegenwart bekannt zu machen und am Aufbau dieses Landes zu beteiligen. Was neben vielen anderen auch Deutsche zur geographischen und geologischen Erforschung des Landes, die eine so wichtige Voraussetzung seines wirtschaftlichen Aufblühens ist, geleistet haben, hat Alfons Gabriel kürzlich in einer höchst aufschlussreichen Arbeit dargelegt ("Die Erforschung Persiens", Wien 1952; vgl. auch Wolfgang Lentz in der "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft" 104/II, S. 524–9), auf die hier verwiesen werden darf. Das führt hin zur Erschliessung von Bodenschätzen und von Wasser, zur medizinischen Hilfe, zur Ausrüstung des Landes mit Gewerbeschulen und ähnlichen Lehranstalten, schliesslich zur Ausbildung vieler junger Iraner in Deutschland, führt hin zur Mitarbeit und zur finanziellen Unterstützung der landwirtschaftlichen und industriellen Entwicklung: an all dem sind neben den vielen Praktikern auch deutsche Wissenschaftler in erheblichem Masse beteiligt. So wird man auch die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen zwischen Iran und Deutschland nicht nur unter dem Blickwinkel des Warenaustausches sehen dürfen. In ihnen steckt auch ein gut Teil lebendiger Anteilnahme deutscher und zahlreicher anderer Forscher an den Schicksalen und kulturellen Leistungen des iranischen Volkes, dem das Abendland mindestens ebenso viel verdankt, wie es ihm geben konnte.

THE TĀTĪ DIALECTS OF RĀMAND

By E. YARSHATER

It is a matter of some surprise that despite more than a hundred years of active study of Iranian dialects, one of the most important groups of these dialects, viz. Tāti, extending from Khalkhāl in Azerbaijan to Sāveh, south-west of Tehran, should, until a few years ago, have remained virtually unknown. The group stands out among the North-Western Iranian dialects by virtue of its many archaisms in morphology, syntax and vocabulary, and by the retention of some grammatical features lost to most of the other related groups. With every new Tāti dialect which comes to light, deeper interest in the group is called for, as my recent explorations in Khalkhāl, Tārom, Zenjān and Kharāqān of Sāveh bear out.

Here I should like to offer a few general remarks about the Tāti dialects of Rāmand, a district to the south-west of Qazvin, which contains the largest Tāti-speaking population in Persia.

Rāmand is a flat country at the base of the Rāmand mountain, limited on the north by the Dashtābi and, on the south, by the Zahrā districts.

The common vernacular of these regions is Turkish, but in Rāmand the main villages have retained their Iranian language. These villages, moving from north to south, are: (1) Tākestān, former Siādohon (abbreviated *Tak.*, pop. 8253),¹ situated some 30 miles to the south-west of Qazvin on the road joining this city to Tabriz and Hamadan. (2) Esfarvarin (abbrev. *Esf.*, pop. 3452), whose people, together with those of Chāl, are known for their quarrelsomeness and recalcitrance. (3) Shāl, popularly Chāl (abbrev. *Čal.*, pop. 4321), a conservative village with one of the more interesting Rāmandi

dialects. Its two main districts, Upper and Lower, show slight dialectal variations.¹ (4) Xiāraj (abbrev. *Xia.*, pop. 2784), a declining village of past importance, the home of Mira Kuru, the Rāmandi poet who seems to have lived not earlier than the late Safavid period. (5) Xoznin (abbrev. *Xoz.*, pop. 923). (6) Dānesf(ah)jān (abbrev. *Dan.*, pop. 2500). (7) Ebrāhim-ābād (abbrev. *Ebr.*, pop. 1637), which has an exceptionally high level of literacy. (8) Sagz-ābād, (abbrev. *Sagz.*, pop. 2070).² To these is to be added Eshtehārd (abbrev. *Esh.*, pop. 6267), at 78 kms. north-west of Tehran, which, although it belongs to Sāvuj-bulāgh, represents by traditional and linguistic affinities an extension of the Tāti villages of Rāmand. Its dialect is grammatically conservative.³

The serious attention of scholars was first drawn to the Tāti dialects of Rāmand by W. B. Henning, who briefly visited Tākestān in 1950, and published his remarks on Tākestāni in an important paper he read before the Philological Society of London in 1953.⁴ Earlier brief references to the Tāti of Rāmand had failed to arouse wide or immediate interest.⁵

Responding to the need for a more thorough study of Rāmandi, I visited Tākestān in the summer of 1955, where I learned of the other Tāti-speaking villages in Rāmand. These I have covered since, in the course of several intermittent trips, collecting dialect materials. My notes include folk poems, stories, descriptive pieces, and lexical and grammatical material.

¹ Cf. U. Čal. *berbinden* "to cut", *veškenja* "sparrow", *nāngun* "pinch", but L. Čal. *bervinden*, *mešgenja*, *nāngur*. M. Sotudeh's Chāl glosses (see below) belong to the Upper Chāl.

² Ebr. and Sagz., however, belong administratively to the neighbouring district of Zahrā.

³ Rāmandi is also spoken in Qarqasin, Qanbar-shāh, Xoruzān and Chālīn, small villages with emigrants from Esfarvarin; in Yār-ābād, a recently founded village that has drawn its population from Xiāraj; and in Palang-ābād, Bābā-jāru, Nekujār, Sohbat-ābād and Morād-tappe, all belonging to Eshtehārd and generally derived from it. The dialects of Alvīr, and Vidār in the Kharāqān of Sāveh, are best treated as a separate group of Tāti. Of all the known Tāti dialects, Alvīri comes closest to Eshtehārdi, and Vidari, an attenuated form of Tāti, to Alvīri.

⁴ "The Ancient Language of Azerbaijan", *TPS*, 1954, pp. 157-77.

⁵ Eshtehārdi is mentioned by V. Zhukovsky, *Materiali*, I, p. IX; he quotes about 140 Esh. glosses he had found on the margin of an 1844 edition of *Borhān-e Jāme'*; see, further, V. Minorsky's article on "Tāt" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; A. Kasravi's *Ādari*, Tehran, 1938, 3rd ed. 1945, records in Persian script brief specimens of the Tāti of Khalkhāl; see Henning, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

¹ For population numbers I have followed the *Farhang-e Joghrafiā'i-e Irān (FJi)*, vol. I, which, however, reflects the somewhat imperfect statistics of some 15 years ago. Estimates given me by the local people and authorities are generally much higher.

Meanwhile a few publications bearing on Rāmandi have appeared: a manuscript copy of a treatise on Rāmandi dialect, written about a hundred years ago by a native of an unspecified village of Rāmand, and discovered in 1954 by I. Afshār, was published in 1955 by M. Sotudeh in the *Farhang-e Iran-Zamin*, vol. III, part I, with Chāli equivalents in Latin script by the editor. It contains mainly lexical material.¹ In 1958 J. Āl-e Aḥmad published an account of the ways and customs of Sagz-ābād and Ebrāhim-ābād that included some texts² in the dialects of these villages, as well as a glossary, and some grammatical remarks.³

In spite of their relative closeness, the Rāmandi dialects show within themselves interesting variations and divergences in vocabulary, as well as in morphology and syntax.

The most characteristic features of Rāmandi dialects may be summarized, in morphology, as being the distinction of gender (fem. and masc.), and the retention of the oblique case(s) in nouns and some pronouns, and in syntax, as being the application of the passive construction where a past transitive verb is involved, and the relatively frequent use of postpositions as against the absence or rarity of prepositions.

(1) *Distinction of gender.* The gender is distinguished in nouns, generally in the 3rd sg. of the pronoun, and in some tenses of verbs. Feminine nouns are commonly marked by an unstressed *-a*, with the stress regularly falling on the penultimate syllable, e.g. Esh. *xoza* "sand", *kila* "farrow", *jua* "stream", *guara* "calf", *geliaka* "young calf", *lāxia* "branch", *āra* "millstone"; Xia. *čela* "spindle", *niāsa* "fly", *xawa* "co-wife", *xefa* "badger"; Čal. *tiarsa* "hail", *asōrda* "ladder", *dāra* "sickle", *lāva* "kiss", *kaha* "pheasant", *dāya* "female colt", *espeja* "louse", *barra* "spade", *kelma* "worm", *xuāka* "sister"; Tak. *vū(y)a* "water", *kasuya* "turtle", *fareka* "chicken", *hoya* "stream".⁴

¹ At the 25th International Congress of Orientalists, I had surmised that, on the basis of comparison and internal evidence, the treatise probably reflected the dialect of Xiāraj. This was borne out by my subsequent study of Xiāraji.

² *Tāt-neshūn-hā-ye Boluk-e Zahrā*, Tehran. The texts are in fact almost entirely from Sagz. and fail to bring out the interesting features of Ebr. dialect.

³ For publications on other Tāti dialects, see E. Yarshater, "The Dialect of Shāhrud (Khalkhāl)", *BSOAS*, vol. XXII, part I, 1959, p. 52; "The Tāti Dialect of Kajal", *ibid.*, vol. XXIII, part II, 1960, p. 275; a short list of words from Xo'in was published by M. Sotudeh in *FIZ*, vol. VI, 1958.

⁴ In Čal. a number of fem. nouns end in *-i* (the unstressed *-a* seems to have dropped out), e.g. *jili* "chick" (Tak. *čillia*), *meji* "young female camel" (Esh. *majia*), *māčči* "cat".

The gender of some animals, as well as some adjectives used substantively, is shown by the presence or absence of the above fem. morpheme, e.g. Ebr. *xar/xar-a* "donkey" (masc. and fem.), Esh. *gow/-a* "cattle", Čal. *gušak/-a* "young camel", *varg/-a* "wolf"; *ferčel/-a* "dirty (one)", *sur/-a* "red (one)". Often when the masc. or the base ends in *-a*, the fem. takes *-ia*, e.g. Čal., etc. *nomaza* "fiance", *nomazia* "fiancée"; Esh. *Fātemia* "Fāṭima"; Sagz. *šānia* "winnowing fork" (cf. Pers. *šāne*).

In pronouns the gender is marked in the 3rd sg. of the personal and demonstrative pronouns. Examples from Dan.: *ā/āya*, obl. *ji/jia* "he/she", (in both cases used also as demons. pron.); *am/ama*, obl. *jeme/jema* "this"; demons. adj.: *am/je* "this", *ā/jā* "that".

In verbs the gender is invariably marked in the 3rd sg. of the Preterite and Imperfect, and generally also in the Perfect, the Pluperfect (not in Sagz.), the Present, and less frequently in the Subjunctive.¹ Examples: Xoz. *buma/bumia* "he/she came", *miā/miyāya* "he/she comes", *bevašt-e/-i* "he/she has run", *bumiaf/bumiva* "he/she had come"; Ebr. *miše/mišia* "he/she used to go"; Sagz. *bevašt-e/-ia* "(that) he/she runs".

The distinction of gender in the 1st and 2nd sg. is far less frequent, and seems to be on the decline:² Ebr. *az-im/-em*, Esh. *az-ima/-eyma*, Čal. *az yima/yeyma* "I am"; Čal. *ta yiša/yeyša* "you are"; Ebr. *bevašt-im/-em*, *bevašt-iš/-eš* "I ran, you ran"; Čal. *bettat-e-m/-i-m*, *bettat-e-š/-i-š* "I have, you have run", *bem/bim* "I have been"; Esh. *bem/-a* "(that) I be".

Only in Ebr. the predicate adj. shows the gender: *nāxeš bef/nāxeša fa* "he/she was ill". Interesting are Xia. *iya* and Čal. *ya* as the fem. of *i* "one".

(2) *Nominal declension.* At least two cases may be noticed in Rāmandi, direct and oblique. This two case system is generally extended to the plural (but not in Tak., where the dir. plural has disappeared). The fem. nouns do not change in the obl. case, except in Esh.: *Mar'yama bomia* (dir.) "Maryam came", but *Marya'mā nun baxārd* (obl.) "Maryam ate bread". In the masc. nouns, the sg. obl. ends in an unstressed *-e*. In the plural the obl. ending is commonly *on*, *o(n)* (Ebr.-*en*). The plural of the direct case, however, shows

¹ In the past tenses the gender distinction is confined to intransitive verbs only; see below.

² In the following examples the masc. is mentioned first.

greater variation: Čal., Sagz., Dan. *-e*, Esf. *-end*, Xia., Ebr. *-en*, and Esh. *hā*.

The oblique case is used for the genitive, definite direct object,¹ indirect object, object of a postposition, and in Esh., Čal. and Ebr., i.e. the three more conservative dialects, also for the agent of past transitive verbs.

In all Rāmandi dialects an obl. case in *-(a)r* is employed for nouns denoting family relationships, e.g. Xoz., etc. *zomā/zomār* "bride-groom, son-in-law", Esf., etc. *teta/tetar* "daughter". This obl. ending is extended in most of the Rāmandi dialects (not, however, in the peripheral Esh. and Tak.) to genitives and definite direct objects denoting people, e.g. Ebr. *čōmō rayyat-ar hamberāya beba* "take my farmer with you", *čōmā čupun-ar das beškias* "our shepherd's hand was broken".²

Generally, in Rāmandi dialects the vestiges of a different grammatical treatment for animate and inanimate objects are clearly visible, as may be seen in the following examples: Esf. *asifa bekat* "the apple (fem.) fell", but, *mīša bekat-a* "the ewe fell"; Čal. *Hasan-e di* "give to H.", but, *xolo zamin di* "give fertilizer to the land". Cf. further Čal. *-ku/-u* "from, in, etc.", postpositions used for animate and inanimate objects respectively.

(3) *Postpositions*. Of these, some that are single vowels, like Čal., Xia. *-u* (above), Ebr., Tak. *-a*, Sagz. *-ā* "in, from", are hardly distinguishable from case endings, and create case-like forms, except that they may also follow the pl. obl. ending and enclitic pronouns, e.g. Čal. *raz-on-u* "in the gardens", *košte-y-u* "in your (sg.) belt", *amberāz-em-u begeratem* "I took (it) with my clothes"; Tak. *ji āftāvun-a* "in this sunshine (pl.)"; Sagz. *pey-š-ā* "in his footsteps".

Interesting is *-ku* (Tak. *-xo*, Sagz. *-ču*), used also in northern and southern Tāleshi dialects, as well as in Tāti dialects of Khalkhāl and

¹ In most of the Rāmandi dialects the sg. obl. ending serves also to define the defin. dir. obj., but if such a noun is already defined by a possessive adj. or an antecedent genitive, the obl. ending is not used, e.g. Ebr. *čōmā gandām ārd ka* "grind our wheat!", *dadar-em gandām ārd ka* "grind my father's wheat!", but *gandām-e ārd ka* "grind the wheat".

² Where the definition of such nouns, however, depends on the ending, the common obl. ending *-e* is employed, e.g. Ebr. *čupun-e hamberāya beba* "take with you the shepherd", *čupun-e das beškias* "the shepherd's hand was broken". The rules governing the use of the obl. endings *-e* and *-(a)r* are more complicated than briefly stated here.

Tārom, but not in Esh., Alviri, and Xo'ini, where *-da* is used instead.¹

(4) *The passive construction*.² The most consistent form of the passive construction is found, among the Tāti dialects, in Nowkiāni (Upper Tārom), where the agent is expressed in the oblique, the logical direct object in the direct case, and the verb agrees in number and gender with its logical direct object. In Rāmandi this construction is weakened in various degrees. Closest to Nowkiāni is Esh., the most conservative Rāmandi dialect in this respect, where the above rules are generally observed when the logical direct object is animate. With inanimate objects, the concord of verb is generally abandoned, and the verb (in fact the verbal adjective) is in masc. sg. form: e.g. *Hasan-e fur-eš beza* "H. hit his son", *Hasan-e tetia-š bezia* "H. hit his daughter", *Hasan-e lazak-ehā bezandi* "H. hit the children"; *čemen beza debasti* "I have tethered the goat (fem.)" (masc.: *debasta*); cf. *Hasan-e dāra, dāra-hā buind-eš* (masc.) "H. saw the tree (fem.), the trees".³

The most attenuated form of the passive construction is found in Tak. and Esf., where the agent appears in the direct case, and the logical object is treated as the grammatical direct object, e.g. Esf. *Hasan momia-purar-eš bind* "H. saw his cousin (the son of his father's brother)"; Tak. *az fel-em ādā Hasan-e* "I gave money to H.". ⁴

¹ B. V. Miller's association of North Tāleshi *-ku* with Persian *ku* "where?, street, quarters, etc.", *Tališskiy yazık*, pp. 80–1, is hardly convincing. One is led to associate *-ku* with the Sogdian preposition *kw*, commonly derived from Av. *kam*, Vedic *kam* (Slavic *ku*) and treated by E. Benveniste, "Une corrélation slavo-iranienne", *Festschrift Vasmer*, 1956, pp. 70–3, as one of the important isoglosses of Indo-Iranian and Slavic.

² The essential elements in a pass. constr. are: (a) a past transitive verb, (b) the agent, and (c) the logical direct object. Logically, the agent is the verb's subject; grammatically, however, it does not stand in concord with the verb. It is the logical direct object that is the grammatical subject of the verb, since the verb is in fact built on a past participle and has a passive sense. In Tāti, the agent, if not expressed by an enclitic obl. pronoun, is often resumed by one.

³ The concord of the verb with its logical direct object in Esh. is less frequently observed among the younger generations than among the older. While the older people observe the concord sometimes even with the inanimate objects, the younger neglect it sometimes even with nouns denoting people, and generally with nouns denoting animals.

⁴ Only Čal. has preserved, among the Rāmandi dialects, a set of agential pronouns (also found in Nowkiāni and Xo'ini), as distinct from its general oblique pronouns: *men, ta, ay/aya* (fem. and masc.), *amā, šomā, ayo(n)*; cf. the obl. personal pronouns: *čeme(n) ešta, jay/-a* (masc. and fem.), *čemā, šomā, jayo(n)*.

EIN WIEDERAUFGEFUNDENES WERK ABŪ ḤAYYĀN AT-TAUḤĪDĪS

Von 'ABBĀS ZARYĀB (KHOĪ)

Im Jahre 1913 hat Margoliouth in der Enzyklopädie des Islām darauf hingewiesen, dass das von Yāqūt im Iršād mehrfach erwähnte Buch über die "Zwei Wesire" von Abū Ḥayyān at-Tauḥīdī, dem berühmten Schriftsteller des 4. Jahrhunderts d. H., nach dem man in den Bibliothekskatalogen vergeblich sucht, wohl in Konstantinopel erhalten sein müsse. Er stützte sich bei dieser Vermutung auf eine Ankündigung des Ġawā'ib-Verlages, in der eine Ausgabe jenes Werkes versprochen wurde. Nun ist es aber zu dieser Ausgabe in den verflossenen 45 Jahren nicht gekommen, und man hat auch sonst nicht wieder von der Angelegenheit gehört, so dass in der neuen Auflage der Enzyklopädie der Bearbeiter des Artikels über Abū Ḥayyān es für richtig gehalten hat, jenen Hinweis seines Vorgängers mit Stillschweigen zu übergehen.

Nun hat aber Professor Mīnowī im Laufe der Handschriftenstudien, die er während des letzten Winters im Auftrag der Teheraner Universität in Istanbul ausführte, in der As'ad Efendi Bibliothek 3542 eine vorzügliche Handschrift jenes Werkes aufgefunden und einen Mikrofilm davon angefertigt, den er mir zur Veröffentlichung überliess. Ich hoffe, die Edition in nicht allzu ferner Zukunft vorlegen zu können, und möchte mir erlauben, an dieser Stelle einige Prolegomena zu der geplanten Ausgabe vorzutragen.

Ein Viertel des Werkes finden wir bei Yāqūt in seinem Iršād, und zwar in den Artikeln über Abu 'l-Faṭḥ b. al-'Amīd, Ibn 'Abbād, Ibn Tawāba und Abū Ḥayyān selbst. An diesen Stellen wird es unter folgenden Titeln aufgeführt: Kitāb al-wazīrain, Ḍamm al-wazīrain, Talb al-wazīrain und Aḥlāq al-wazīrain.

Spätere Schriftsteller haben es auch Maṭālib al-wazīrain genannt. In meinem Text wird keiner von diesen Titeln genannt, vielmehr heisst das Buch da: Aḥlāq aṣ-Ṣāhib wa-'bn al-'Amīd li-Abī Ḥayyān;

aber es handelt sich zweifellos um das gleiche Buch, aus dem die Auszüge von Yāqūt stammen.

Es ist 47 Folio stark, und jede Seite hat zwischen 25 und 30 Zeilen, nur eine Seite hat 20 Zeilen. Es ist in altem Nash geschrieben, das ziemlich klar und gut leserlich ist.

Wenn man den Text mit dem Auszug des Yāqūt vergleicht, so kann man feststellen, dass der letztere viele Verschreibungen aufweist. Wie es bei den Büchern dieser Zeit, besonders bei denen von al-Ġāḥiẓ, üblich war, beginnt auch unseres mit einer Anrede an einen Freund, die etwa folgendermassen lautet: "Du hast Brief auf Brief geschrieben und mich aufgefordert, einiges über Ibn 'Abbād und Ibn al-'Amīd und einige andere Leute, die ich von 350 d. H. bis jetzt getroffen habe, zu schreiben, weil ich über ihre Angelegenheiten informiert sei und mich über ihr Privatleben habe unterrichten können und über ihre Geheimnisse Bescheid wisse. Und ich habe in der Tat diese Kenntnisse aus eigener Anschauung, der Bekanntschaft mit ihnen und durch Erzählungen und Informationen ihrer Zechgenossen." Im folgenden gibt uns der Autor den Grund dafür an, dass er in diesem Buch übertriebene Schmähungen und Schimpfreden gebraucht habe: das Gefühl des Zorns habe ihn überwältigt und durch den Hass könne der Vorhang der Vernunft, so stark er auch sei, entzweireissen. Dann verteidigt er sich in einem schönen und glänzenden Stil und führt dazu ältere Schriftsteller an, die Schimpfreden gegen ihre Feinde geschrieben haben, z. B. al-Ġāḥiẓ, Abu 'l-'Ainā', 'Abdallāh b. Dīnār, Muḥammad b. Mukram und Abū Hiffān. Und er erwähnt ein Buch von Ibn al-Muqaffa', das einen Sohn von Sulaimān b. 'Alī al-Hāsimī getadelt habe, und eine Schrift Sahl b. Hārūns, das die Fehler al-Harrānis anprangert.

An Büchern gleichen Inhalts nennt Abū Ḥayyān noch diese: ein Buch des Sa'id b. Ḥumaid gegen die Familie des 'Alī b. Hišām, ein Werk von aṣ-Ṣūlī über einen Angehörigen der Banu 'l-Munaḡḡim, eine Schrift von Abu 'l-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd gegen Ḥasan b. Raḡā', ein Buch von al-'Umarī gegen Faḍl b. Sahl Du 'r-Riyāsatain.

Als Grund für die Abfassung des vorliegenden Buches nennt Abū Ḥayyān die Enttäuschung, die ihm Ibn 'Abbād bereitet habe: lange Zeit habe er an seinem Hofe verkehrt und neun Monate lang Bücher für ihn abgeschrieben, und trotzdem habe ihm Ibn 'Abbād keine Bezahlung zukommen lassen, ja ihn sogar mit Geringschätzung behandelt. Es sieht so aus, als ob er ihn des Mangels an Berühmtheit

halber und seines schlechten Aussehens wegen nicht geschätzt habe. Das wird zwar nicht ausdrücklich gesagt, man kann es jedoch zwischen den Zeilen lesen.

Der grösste Teil der negativen Dinge, die Abū Ḥayyān von Ibn 'Abbād berichtet, stammt aus dem Munde der Genossen des letzteren, nämlich: az-Za'farānī, Abū Bakr al-Ḥwārizmī, al-Musayyibī, Abu 't-Ṭib an-Naṣrānī, at-Tamīmī al-Miṣrī, 'Alī b. Qāsim al-Kātib, al-Ḥalīlī, Abū 'Ubaid al-Kātib an-Naṣrānī, al-Ḥaṭ'amī al-Kātib, 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Kātib, al-Aqṭa' al-Kūfī, Ibn az-Zayyāt al-Mutakallim, al-Ġilūhī, Šād-Bāšī, Ibn at-Ṭallāğ al-Mutakallim, Muḥammad b. al-Marzubān, Abu 's-Salm Nağba b. 'Alī, Abū Ṭāhir al-Anmāṭī, Ibn Fāris, al-Ğuwairī und anderer.

Der andere Teil seiner Nachrichten beruht auf Augenzeugenschaft. Was uns bei den Erzählungen der Genossen des Ibn 'Abbād in Erstaunen setzt, ist die Tatsache, dass diese vielen verschiedenen Leute alle im gleichen Stil, ja sogar in Reimprosa redend gezeitigt werden. Das führt zu der Vermutung, dass Abū Ḥayyān alles selbst erfunden hat.

Für diese Meinung spricht auch eine Bemerkung Yāqūts in dem Artikel über Ibn Ṭawāba al-Kātib. Hier erzählt er, wie Ibn Ṭawāba die Geometrie habe erlernen wollen und zu diesem Zweck einen Geometrielehrer genommen habe. Diese Geschichte sei aber zweifellos unwahr und entweder von Aḥmad b. at-Ṭayyib oder Abū Ḥayyān selbst erfunden. Abū Ḥayyān habe oft dergleichen Dinge erfunden.

Ein Argument dafür liefern an einigen Stellen die verschiedenen Darstellungen der gleichen Begebenheiten.

So erzählt uns Abū Ḥayyān folgende zwei Erlebnisse, die auch in Yāqūts Auszug enthalten sind: "Ich war im Jahre 358 in Rayy und nächtigte mit anderen (er nennt diese Leute) im Hause des Ibn 'Abbād. Eines Abends sah Ibn 'Abbād bei einer Gesellschaft in seinem Hause ein unbekanntes Gesicht." Das heisst doch, dass Ibn 'Abbād die übrigen Leute und damit auch Abū Ḥayyān kannte. An einer anderen Stelle jedoch sagt er: "Die Geschichte unserer Bekanntschaft ist so: als ich bei ihm weilte, fragte er mich: '*Abū man?*' und ich sagte: '*Abū Ḥayyān*.'" Dann erzählt er einige Dinge, die zwischen ihm und Ibn 'Abbād vorgefallen waren und fährt fort: "Das Ende unserer Bekanntschaft war so, dass ich mich von ihm im Jahre 370 trennte und nach Bagdād ohne Lebensmittel und Reittier zurückkehrte.

Und er hat mir niemals in diesen drei Jahren auch nur einen Dirham gegeben." Demnach fand seine erste Begegnung mit Ibn 'Abbād im Jahre 367 statt. Das steht im Widerspruch zum Inhalt der ersten Erzählung, wonach Abū Ḥayyān dem Ibn 'Abbād offenbar schon im Jahre 358 bekannt war.

Ausserdem kennen wir die Berichte einer Begebenheit bei Abū Ḥayyān und Yāqūt, der die Kenntnis davon seinerseits wieder von Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin hat, den wir als zuverlässigen Berichterstatter kennen. Da wir aber zwischen beiden Texten grössere Unterschiede feststellen, scheinen wir auch hier willkürliche Veränderungen des Sachverhalts annehmen zu können.

Hier kurz der Inhalt beider Texte: zuerst der bei Yāqūt in seinem Iršād al-arīb, Bd. II, Ausgabe 2, Seite 315, aufgezeichnete: Ein Syrer kommt zu Šāḥib b. 'Abbād, welcher ihn unter anderen fragt, wessen Briefsammlungen als Vorbilder am höchsten geschätzt seien. Der Syrer antwortet: "Die des Ibn 'Abdakān". Dann fragt Ibn 'Abbād, welche die ihr an Wertschätzung folgende sei: "die von aṣ-Šābī" ist die Antwort. Den Wink eines der Anwesenden, die Sammlung des Ibn 'Abbād für die beste zu erklären, versteht der Syrer nicht, wohl aber versteht dieses Zeichen Ibn 'Abbād und sagt: "Du winkst einem Esel, der nicht verstehen kann!"

Abū Ḥayyān erzählt ausführlicher und anders; es kommt ein ägyptischer Kaufmann mit Stoffen nach Rayy. Der Šāḥib ruft ihn zu sich, kauft etwas von ihm und fragt ihn, für welche Kunst oder Wissenschaft sich die Ägypter interessieren und wessen Briefsammlungen ihnen am liebsten wären. Er antwortet: die Ägypter haben an jeder Kunst und Wissenschaft Anteil, und die Briefsammlung des Abū Ğa'far b. 'Abdakān ist ihnen am liebsten. Nağāḥ, der Diener, steht dabei und winkt mit Hand, Lippen und Augenbrauen dem Ägypter, auch die Briefsammlung des Šāḥib zu erwähnen. Aber dieser versteht nicht. Ibn 'Abbād setzt eine böse Miene auf, ist enttäuscht und geht weg. Einige Tage später wiederholt sich die Geschichte. Da sagt Ibn 'Abbād zu seinem Diener: "Was kannst du machen, wenn dieser Mann so unverschämt ist?!" Darauf jagte er den Ägypter weg.

Der Teil des Buches, der dem Tadel des Ibn al-'Amīd gewidmet ist, ist der kleinere, aber in gleicher Art verfasst. Bei Ibn al-'Amīd wird uns jedoch nicht gesagt, wie er sich den Hass Abū Ḥayyāns zugezogen hat.

Der Stil des ganzen Buches ist zierlich und reizvoll, und man kann es als das beste seiner Werke ansehen. Es gibt reichliche Informationen über Staatsmänner, Wissenschaftler und Schriftsteller des 4. Jahrhunderts. Ausserdem lehrt es uns auch die sozialen Zustände dieser Zeit kennen und wir lesen Abū Ḥayyāns moralische Kritik an seinen Zeitgenossen. Mit scharfen Worten geisselt er die Sucht nach schmuckreichen Anredeformen. Er berichtet, dass Abū Ḥāmid al-Marwarūdi feststellt, diese Übertreibungen seien nur Dummheiten und hätten ihren Grund in den Minderwertigkeitskomplexen der Hochgestellten.

Wahnsinn sei der Streit der Theologen, welches Kalifat vorzuziehen und welches Volk das beste sei.

